B 892367

MAR 29 1961

NATIONAL REVIEW

40 Cents
March 25, 1961

A JOURNAL OF FACT AND OPINION

THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS
SERIAL RECORD
APR. 6- 1961

A Foreign Policy for America

BARRY GOLDWATER

Perils of the Libeled

C. DICKERMAN WILLIAMS

What About the Peace Corps?

DAVID FRANKE

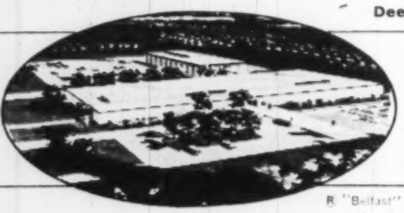
Articles and Reviews by · · · · RALPH DE TOLEDANO
HUGH KENNER · ANTHONY LEJEUNE · FRANK S. MEYER
JOAN DIDION · WM. F. BUCKLEY JR. · ABE KALISH

TEXTILE RESEARCH PLAYS VITAL ROLE IN OUR FUTURE ECONOMY

Belfast
self-ironing 100% cotton
IT IRONS IN THE WASH!

AT HOME AT WORK, AT WORK AT HOME. BELFAST® self-ironing cotton shirts are crisp, cool and comfortable all day long. And best of all, they always iron themselves no matter how they are washed, and whether spin, hang or tumble dried.

BELFAST SELF-IRONING FABRICS DIVISION
Deering Milliken, Inc., 1045 Sixth Avenue • New York 18, N. Y.



Deering Milliken Research Corp., Spartanburg, S. C.

America's largest, most modern research facilities devoted exclusively to textile research.

® "Belfast" is the registered trademark of Deering Milliken Research Corporation for self-ironing fabrics.

NATIONAL REVIEW

A JOURNAL OF FACT AND OPINION

EDITOR: Wm. F. Buckley, Jr.
PUBLISHER: William A. Rusher

EDITORS
L. Brent Bozell, James Burnham
Willmoore Kendall, Frank S. Meyer
MANAGING EDITOR: Priscilla L. Buckley
PRODUCTION EDITOR: Mabel Wood
ASSISTANT PUBLISHER: J. P. McFadden

ASSOCIATES
Frank Chodorov, William F. Rickenbacker, Morrie Ryskind
EDITORIAL ASSISTANT: David Franke

CONTRIBUTORS
C. D. Batchelor, Colm Brogan, John Chamberlain,
John Abbot Clark, Peter Crumpet, Forrest Davis, A. Derso,
Joan Didion, Medford Evans, M. Stanton Evans, Finis Farr,
J. D. Futch, Henry Hazlitt, Aloise B. Heath, Hugh Kenner,
James Jackson Kilpatrick, John D. Kreuttner,
Suzanne La Follette, Sir Arnold Lunn, J. B. Matthews,
Jonathan Mitchell, Thomas Molnar, Gerhart Niemeyer,
Maureen B. O'Reilly, E. Merrill Root,
Ralph de Toledano, Richard M. Weaver,
Frederick D. Wilhelmsen, Garry Wills

FOREIGN CONTRIBUTORS
London: Anthony Lejeune
Munich: E. v. Kuehnelt-Leddihn
CIRCULATION MANAGER: Charles J. McHugh
ADVERTISING MANAGER: Michael M. Mooney

CONTENTS

MARCH 25, 1961 VOL. X, NO. 11

THE WEEK 168

ARTICLES
A Foreign Policy for America ....Barry Goldwater 177
Letter from the Congo ....Anthony Lejeune 182
Apples, Planets, Dollars ....Hugh Kenner 183
What's Wrong in Libel ......C. Dickerman Williams 185
What About the Peace Corps? ....David Franke 188

DEPARTMENTS
For the Record 174
National Trends ....Ralph de Toledano 175
The Third World War ....James Burnham 176
The Ivory Tower ....Wm. F. Buckley Jr. 187
To the Editor 196

BOOKS, ARTS, MANNERS
Policy for Victory ....Frank S. Meyer 189
Marks of Identity ....Joan Didion 190
To Delve a Yard Below ....Garry Wills 191
Persuasion by Notation ....Abe Kalish 192
The Perennial Ella ....Ralph de Toledano 194
Books in Brief 195

VERSE
Peace Corps Cheer ....W. H. von Dreele 186

CARTOON
The Icebergs ....John D. Kreuttner 173

NATIONAL REVIEW is published weekly by National Review, Inc. at 440 Post Road, Orange, Conn. (second class mail privileges authorized at Orange, Conn.) Copyright 1961 in the U.S.A. by National Review, Inc. All manuscripts, letters, subscription orders, changes of address and undeliverable copies should be sent to:

EDITORIAL AND CIRCULATION OFFICES
National Review
150 East 35th St., New York 16, N.Y.
Telephone ORegon 9-7330

RATES: $15.00 a year ($8.00 for the 32-page issues, and $7.00 for the 8-page issues published on the alternate fortnights). The 8-page issues are available separately at $10.00 a year. In all cases, add $1.00 for Canada, $2.00 for other foreign subscriptions.

The editors cannot be responsible for unsolicited manuscripts unless return postage, or better, a stamped, self-addressed envelope is enclosed. Opinions expressed in signed articles do not necessarily represent the views of the editors.

In This Issue . . .

➔ We feature a galvanizing analysis of the strategic requirements of the international situation by Senator **Barry Goldwater.** The Senator, as ever, is not in the least afraid to be concrete. And he tells how we should deal with: Laos, Cuba, Berlin, the Congo, Indonesia and Washington. . . . **James Burnham** devotes his column to a further discussion of the Indonesian theater: "Dispatch from a Forgotten Front," a hair-raising interview with an Indonesian rebel leader, Hasan Muhammad Tiro. . . . Professor **Hugh Kenner,** of the University of California (at Santa Barbara), writes an enticing essay about the economics of Ezra Pound, which will no doubt cause some critics of NR's poetry page to comment that what Professor Kenner doesn't know about poetry, he doesn't know about economics, either.

➔ Mr. **C. Dickerman Williams,** former counsel to the Department of Commerce and, notwithstanding, a brilliant lawyer and stout champion of the rights of the legislature, writes about American libel laws, commenting on the article on British laws we published a year or so ago by Alistair Horne of London (whose newest book, *Canada and the Canadians,* will soon be published). Mr. Williams' article should be of immediate interest to Mr. Paar and Mr. Sullivan, to whom copies will be made available at the same price. . . . **Anthony Lejeune** of the (London) *Daily Express* was on the spot when Lumumba's death was reported in Katanga, and tells what took place in the tense days that ensued. . . . And **Wm. Buckley** describes the jubilant success of the YAF-Goldwater rally in New York last week.

➔ **Frank S. Meyer** (whose own *The Moulding of Communists* continues to harvest praise from all but Communist quarters) leads off Books-Arts-Manners with what would not have been possible as little as two or three years ago: a review of not one but three distinguished books, brought out within a single month by major publishers, which analyze American strategy from the standpoint of hard anti-Communism. . . . **Joan Didion,** in a retrospective critique suggested by some critical noses upward-tilted at his latest novel, discusses Graham Greene's ability to construct a well-tooled book. Miss Didion is boldly going ahead with her own novel, already accepted for publication next season. . . . In a philosophical symposium with a doubtful title, the rigorous metaphysical judgment of **Garry Wills** finds only one essay — tantalizingly un-named — to single out for anathema. . . . A bibliography of books on Communism might surely have been one of the most useful of books on books, but R. N. Carew Hunt's may prove one of the more harmful, **Abe Kalish** finds. . . . And **Ralph de Toledano,** shifting masks from his "National Trends" report, explains, with knowledge and insight and fine detail, why, with its grace and simplicity and variety, there is no tiring of the singing of Ella Fitzgerald, *good* when she began, and ever better year by year. ➔

The WEEK

● The Tax Collector is suing Ingemar Johansson for $1,009,801 in income taxes. Peanuts. Seventy million Americans would pay $10 to each of them to see Ingemar and the Tax Collector discuss their differences in the ring.

● Mr. Richard Nixon has surfaced in Los Angeles, whence he will direct, he has in effect announced, the affairs of the Republican Party. Why did he not criticize the performance and program of the President? Because, we are to suppose, such a thing would be indecorous so early in President Kennedy's Administration. An alternative explanation is that Mr. Nixon doesn't really have any firmly rooted position from which to criticize convincingly a single thing Mr. Kennedy has done. Mr. Nixon did say that the Republican Party should undertake an exhaustive search for attractive and qualified candidates for political office. In all kindness we warn him this could be dangerous. We have all heard of the top executive who hired a firm of efficiency experts to make recommendations and when the report came in, the first recommendation was to do away with the top executive.

● Western Air Lines, charging that the strike by flight engineers was illegal, refused to comply with a Presidential order to rehire them. The engineers have asked the Civil Aeronautics Board to revoke Western's operating certificate. And we ask the engineers: if you don't like unemployment, have you tried working?

● The newly independent nations of the French Community in Africa are alarmed over recent United Nations actions in the Congo. As they see it, if the United Nations can disarm the troops of Joseph Kasavubu, the legally constituted President of the Congo, and at the same time prevent Kasavubu from meeting the threat of the rebel forces of Communist Antoine Gizenga, then no small nation is—potentially—safe from arbitrary UN domination. An official of the Cameroun which has, since independence, dealt vigorously with its own Communist-led terrorists, told *N.Y. Herald Tribune* correspondent Marguerite Higgins: "Under the policies of so-called 'neutrality' adopted in the Congo they [the United Nations] would have interposed themselves between us and the rebels, restraining us from trying to wipe them out." When she reached Léopoldville, Miss Higgins met resentment and rudeness when she was at first mistaken for a UN employee, but a warm welcome when she was identified as an American, and unofficial. Her experiences might serve as a reminder to American policy makers that it is not by rubber stamping every UN action, no matter how idiotic, that we are going to win friends and influence nations of the Afro-Asian world.

● In Anaheim, California, a fortnight ago, a crowd of 12,000 persons listened attentively while such well-qualified anti-Communists as Dr. Fred Schwartz, Mr. W. Leon Skousen and former FBI agent Herbert Philbrick explained the objectives of the enemy and outlined methods of resisting his advance. A surprised local newspaper described this unusual seminar as "the biggest field day the anti-Communists have ever had in the U.S." Roused by the smashing success of this event, added to the booming pro-HUAC meetings and demonstrations, plus the overflow tide at the March 3 New York YAF rally, conservatives are looking up likely spots for future gatherings. Eyes are on Madison Square Garden, the Hollywood Bowl and Harvard Square. One enthusiast is making a survey of the Grand Canyon.

● A distinguished Latin American official attended a diplomatic function in Washington recently. Finding himself momentarily isolated in a corner of the room with the President of the United States, he seized the opportunity to alert Mr. Kennedy to the desperate political situation in his homeland, where Communist agitators are successfully whipping up pro-Castro movements. After a minute, his listener observed: "I like that dress your wife is wearing." Our source? A distinguished Latin American official.

● Conservative Madrilenos never cease to marvel at the dispatches of the principal Washington correspondent of Madrid's principal daily *ABC*. Jorge Massip is his paper's James Reston: and he sounds like a regular columnist for the *Washington Post*, or the *New York Post*. "It seems a bit rough to have censorship from a right-wing dictator *and* Massip," one right-wing journalist recently noted. "We ought to do away with one or the other." Massip takes the straight Liberal party line on most issues. The management of *ABC* is chaotic, and diffused. And, it is generally supposed, the official Censors in Madrid aren't politically sophisticated enough to distinguish the Liberal line unless it happens to touch—and Massip's never does—on Francisco Franco.

● Indiana, several years ago, outlawed the union shop, which requires all workers in a plant to join a union in order to keep their jobs. The union bosses then demanded an "agency shop"—meaning that workers would not have to join the union, but would have to pay dues anyway, on the alleged theory that they would otherwise be getting a "free ride." General Motors resisted efforts of the United Auto Workers to force its employees into such a circumvention of the law. Last month the National Labor Relations Board ruled that the agency shop was barred by Indiana's constitution. The victory may be short-lived, however, for several NLRB members are to be replaced by the Kennedy Administration. Union officials have served notice that they will then ask for a reconsideration of the ruling. Constitutions nowadays, they figure, study the election returns.

● Man, what a headache! Every morning as Sheik Abdullah as-Salim as-Sabah of Kuwait rolls out of bed he is struck with a horrid thought: "What am I going to do with all that money?" Even as the question crosses his mind, hundreds of oil wells on his desert sands spew forth thousands of barrels of high-grade oil, and Kuwait's income jolts up another notch. The sheik has built, and is building, hospitals, schools, roads, apartment houses, homes, office buildings, sports arenas, palaces, universities, anything he can think of. But still his pile of surplus money grows. And now hundreds of young Kuwait men and women, graduating from their well-staffed, brand-new, air-conditioned schools and colleges are asking, "Where do we go from here?" They want to put their brand new education to work, but the sheik is stumped. He simply can't find anything that needs doing. Peace Corps, Abdullah as-Salim as-Sabah?

● American farmers, inspired by the artificially high prices of the government-supported produce markets, have produced such a superabundance of foodstuffs that the Congress is now laboring over an "emergency" bill to reduce production. Mainland Chinese farmers, stultified by the artificially low return from work on Communist-dominated community farms, have produced such a small supply of food that the Communist government is now acting to provide "incentives" for the farmers. When Communist China is knee-deep in corpses and the New Frontier is knee-deep in surpluses, will someone be around to propose the most revolutionary program of all—balancing supply with demand in a free market?

● Last June the Commerce Department permanently revoked a company's license to ship machines for making automotive cylinder heads and engine blocks to the Soviet Union. In January of this year it allowed another company's license to expire—this time a license to send machines for making gears used in autos, trucks, and farm equipment. Two weeks ago it canceled the Bryant Chucking Grinder Company's license to export to the Soviet Union $1.5 million worth of machinery for making ball bearings of a kind much used in missiles. This most recent action was announced—not, perhaps, by accident—one day after President Kennedy expressed his hope to maintain "some degree of trade" with the Soviet Union without impairing our national security. In the delicate decision on what is and what is not "strategic trade," the Administration and the Commerce Department have—to the delight of the Pentagon—succumbed to mounting pressure from Congress. For this most recent exercise of legitimate power, the Congress in general and Senator Thomas Dodd in particular deserve the thanks and praise of the citizens.

● President Kennedy's first action in the field of international trade was to raise the tariff on foreign-made bicycles by 50 per cent. Meanwhile, the high command of the AFL-CIO 1) reaffirmed its approval of increased international trade, and 2) adopted a restrictive policy of tariffs and boycotts against competitive imports. The business community, like the labor movement, harbors a legion of conservative entrepreneurs who ringingly commend the free market—until it hits them between the eyes, at which point they cry for higher tariffs to protect "our American standard of living." A strange marriage this, between the free-market gentlemen and the labor-monopoly gentlemen. And as for President Kennedy, though he belongs to a traditionally low-tariff party, he comes from a traditionally high-tariff state. He took the opportunity, by his first tariff action, to placate two factions that are so often jointly implacable. The result: the high cost of politics will be passed on to little children who would like to have, but whose parents cannot afford, a bicycle. Let 'em ride Cadillacs.

● Lord Casey, Australia's long-time Minister of External Affairs, likes to pilot a small plane along the resort coast south of Melbourne, spotting sharks. He reports the sharks to the shore patrol, which in turn warns swimmers to beware. Between flights, recently, Lord Casey expressed the hope that the Kennedy Administration would "rethink" the idea of admitting Red China to the UN. Come on in, milord, the water's fine!

● The privately-owned transit system in Salem, Oregon was operating at a loss, and there was pressure for municipal ownership. But the city fathers were reluctant to saddle the taxpayers with the burden. So the drivers—seeing a possible loss of their jobs—took it over as a cooperative venture. They cut their own wages to $10 a day, gave up fringe benefits to reduce operating costs, and updated the booking and route schedules. That was 22 months ago. The system's income has gone up; the drivers' wages have been raised first to $12 a day, then to $13, and lately to $14. The accountant's report indicates that it will not only survive but continue to advance. Those drivers certainly ought to be haled before NLRB for unfair labor practices.

● Cuba's attempt to educate its two million illiterate citizens is being carried out with the aid of three rather unorthodox textbooks. Raúl Castro's Ministry of Armed Forces has prepared a "Manual of Civic Indoctrination" which might have been subtitled "Revolution Made Easy." It is a simplification of the Communist revolutionary plan which has worked so well in Cuba and which, the book suggests, could work equally well in other Latin American countries. Among the chapter titles found in the two primers are "Fidel Is Our Leader" and "The Declaration of Havana." And the "educators" have found a novel method of teaching the alphabet: "F" as in FBI, an institution for political persuasion . . . "S" as in Soviet Russia, a union of republics where exploitation of man by man does not occur, etc. The texts fail to mention such Cuban patriots as José Marti but we find this name next to the letter "N": Nikita Jruchov. *El Gran Liberador?*

● Representative Stratton (D., N.Y.) says that New York State has been closing the gap in the race with California for defense contracts. So THAT'S what they meant by "the missile gap"!

Africa: The Kennedy Doctrine

The ex-Belgian Congo, we should remind ourselves, is only the curtain raiser. For the 1961-62 season, the African stage—or let us more aptly call it, the multiple-ringed African circus—has on its scheduled program one rip-roaring turn after another. The Angola troupe, ballyhooed by its advance man on the *Santa Maria*, has been rehearsing its riot act in Luanda. Algeria, which has kept a repertory company going for the past seven years, looks forward to new scenes of pity and terror. Ghana, Ethiopia, Nigeria and some of the newly baptized nations of the former French territories will surely feel the urge to get into the act. But the heavies, who in these last weeks have been heard clearing their throats in the wings, are the lands of British East and Central Africa: Kenya, Tanganyika, Uganda, the Federation of Nyasaland and the Rhodesias.

Already in Kenya, an election under a curiously contrived new constitution has named a legislature with a black African majority and a "reserved" minority of whites chosen *not* by the whites themselves, but by enfranchised—and fiercely anti-white—black Africans. The black legislators are for the most part from the extreme nationalist party (KANU) officially led by the trade union boss and Luo tribesman, Tom Mboya. The real leader is Jomo Kenyatta, Kikuyu sorcerer, organizer of the unspeakable Mau Mau. Mboya, reeling under the hideous spells of the party's primarily Kikuyu membership, demands from London full and immediate freedom for Kenyatta, and his installation as head of government. The Mau Mau is sworn in blood and horror to destroy all whites. But as the Masai, Luo and other non-Kikuyu tribesmen whom it slew by thousands very well know, it is not only whites who are under the Mau Mau death sentence.

Tanganyika and Uganda move, somewhat behind, along the same route. London has recently proclaimed a constitution for the Federation, similar to Kenya's, which would quickly lead the Rhodesias and Nyasaland also to black, tribal, and inevitably fanatic domination, chaos and bloodshed.

A year ago a good deal of theory and speculation went into the diverse views about what was going to happen in Africa, and how best to handle what was to happen. To check theory, we now have the nine months of the liberated Congo, time aplenty to give birth to conclusions based on facts rather than abstractions.

What the evidence of the Congo has proved is that, 1) the black Africans, with some but insufficient exceptions, cannot handle their own political and economic affairs; 2) they tend to revert to savagery against both whites and their own civilized minority, and in their own mode of existence; 3) the United Nations can neither fill the vacuum, nor forestall the social chaos, nor keep out the Cold War; 4) and, very particularly, the United Nations in the African theater not only does not and cannot protect the essential strategic interests of the West, but inevitably corrodes Western security and interests.

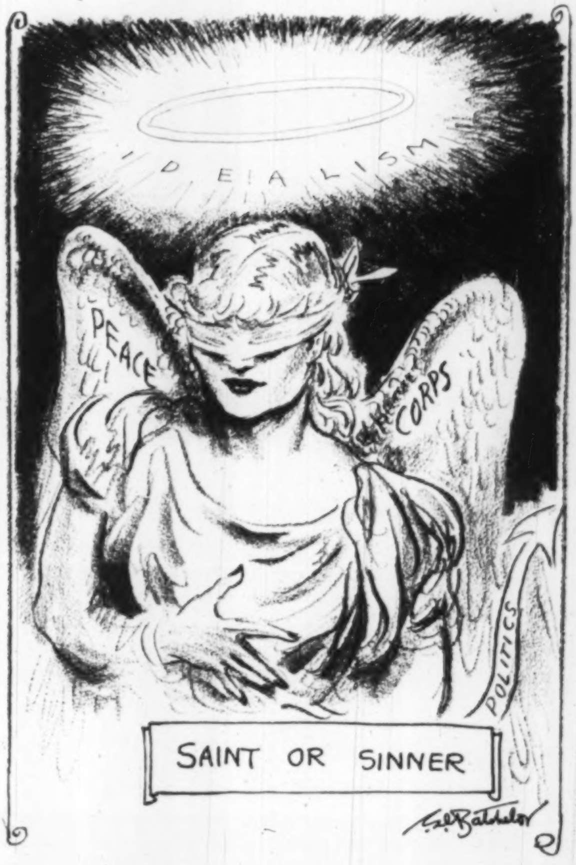
These are the summary lessons of the Congo, plainly writ for all who wish to see. A year ago the Belgian Congo was an orderly, progressive society, scarcely touched by the Cold War, contributing substantially to Western security and economic well-being. Last summer liberation and the UN came to the Belgian Congo. Today it has become what it has become.

The lesson is plainly writ, and its further application is plain: if we continue on the Congo line—all for liberation, all for black African racist rule under the slogans of equality, all for and through the UN—then we will turn one after another additional area of Africa into Congos.

The African house has already been too much dismantled to leave hope that it can be entirely put together again, or even well patched for long years to come. But it is not too late to save the essentials, and to give Africa and the Africans themselves—white and black—at least a chance at something better than Mau Mau. First among the essentials is the strategic security of Western civilization in its struggle against the Communist assault. If the Communists gain control of a good part of Africa, the West's strategic position will crumble: for Europe's front will be turned on its southern flank, and the Americas will be brought into close range from Africa's western bulge. But in the case of Africa, the essential to Western security is essential also to Africa's interest. It is not certain that there is any way by which Africa in the next generation can move upward on the scale of well-being and civilization; but it *is* certain, and proved, that the entry of the Communist enterprise means that Africa will move down, into savagery and chaos.

Therefore—the answer leaps from the facts to the mind—the Communist enterprise must be kept out of Africa; forced out, insofar as it is already in—and this is not yet irretrievably deep. Can this be done? Without doubt, so far as the needed power goes, granted the decision to do it. It can be done if the President of the United States calls on the Western alliance, NATO, to do it: calls on NATO to proclaim a new Monroe Doctrine—it would be known as "the Kennedy Doctrine" to historians of the future—under which Africa would be declared out of bounds for Communists, No Trespassing, Forbidden; calls on the sea and air fleets to police, so far as necessary, the prohibition. Even without the Communists, there would be troubles enough in Africa; but without the Communists there would be a chance for solutions. As for the Africans themselves—white and black—they would have nothing rational to fear from such a shield. It was only the first Monroe Doctrine that allowed and enabled the nations of Latin America to develop in freedom.

A provocation to the lords of the Kremlin? No doubt they would so judge it. But in the case of Africa, it is the West that still holds the sea, air, geographic and historical trumps. Beyond pounding *both* shoes this time, what would, or could, Nikita do?



Ah Yes, the Peace Corps

Elsewhere in this issue Mr. David Franke, a young man on NATIONAL REVIEW's staff who has been active for several years in conservative youth movements, raises a number of sober points which have not been considered by those whose rapture over the idea of a Peace Corps disdains all pettifoggery. We remember a crusading idealist who lectured ten years or so ago at colleges about the need for the United States to send abroad one hundred billion dollars of aid per year. The crowd was dazzled by the proposal, and swept away by the enthusiasm of the speaker. During the question period a solemn, bespectacled, earthbound sophomore rose to ask, "How are we going to pay for it, sir?" His answer was a look of total dumbfounded contempt. As though halfway through painting the Sistine Chapel, Michelangelo had been told to lay off because the Vatican couldn't afford the paint.

Just the same, one is rendered glad by any expression of idealism in the West, and it is idealism that has generated enthusiasm for the Peace Corps. The nation's youth are treating the idea as though it were a call to go to Africa for a mass sit-in. There is no doubting that genuine altruism is involved; a desire to help other people. What one cannot help but wonder is why American youth are so caught up in the enthusiasm for bringing electric dishwashers to the Angolese, while remaining so perennially indifferent to the idea of bringing freedom to the slaves of the Communist Empire; or even to keeping the frontiers of slavery contained. Why are the youth clamoring to go to South America. and Africa, and Asia, to counter the activities of the

Communist apologists who continue to pour out of the Soviet Union to sow their mischief? Why aren't they clamoring for the so-called Freedom Academy, which would train American youth in the tactics of non-military warfare? By a resourceful and devoted use of the weapons of political and psychological warfare, our idealists could hope to do more than raise the GNP of underdeveloped nations by one or two per cent. They might save whole nations from succumbing to the blandishments and conspiracies of the slavemasters who roam about the world, seeking the destruction of souls.

The moral energy of the Peace Corps, as we say, is commendable. Alas, it can be said also that the moral energy of the Communists is also commendable. Those Communists who believe that by hastening the victory of socialism they are hastening the realization of a new age of mass happiness, and who to that end are prepared to undergo privation and risk—these men too are moved by ideals. That they are false ideals is what matters, as far as humankind is concerned. The Peace corpsmen are moved by ideals too, but not those that would stand most to benefit the world. What American youth have that the depressed nations most need is not the knowledge of English, or of elementary hygiene, or of the anatomy of the internal combustion engine. They have *experience* with the political and economic conditions of progress: order, freedom, justice, private property, the clear identification of the enemy of freedom, the Communist movement, and a round-the-clock vigilance against it. Unfortunately, though that is the passive experience of American youth, it is not one on which they have greatly reflected. That is why the moral energies of our very noisiest youth have been diverted to demonstrating against the nuclear bomb, to sit-ins against Woolworth, to protesting against the House Committee on Un-American Activities. And now, the Peace Corps.

Let's All Hate Germany, Comrade

Anti-Germanism is in the air, and its fallout is not damaging people indiscriminately—it aims unerringly at the marrow of anti-Communism. And that is why the Soviet continues its relentless program of exploding dirty bombs of anti-Germanism. Stories about German militarism, about neo-Nazism, about Prussian irredentism, and the rest of it, continue to be transmitted by the tireless machines of Communist propaganda. There is no justification in assuming that the activities of the Communists have themselves generated the harmonious events in the Western world that strengthen anti-Germanism, and derivatively, anti-anti-Communism. But it is worth noting what is now going on.

We have, first and foremost, the Eichmann show trial, which whatever its merits (it is clear he is a beast, not clear whether there are laws against his kind of beastliness, nor whether if there are, Israel is the proper prosecutor under those laws), will almost certainly encourage the Hate Germany movement, as Adenauer himself has pointed out. And then out of the blue last week, the Soviet Union prosecuted and condemned to death three Estonians for helping the Germans to carry out the extermination of 125,000 people during the war. (Perhaps, for all we know, since we have only Soviet reports, the original crime was the theft of a Byelorussian bicycle by a Latvian kleptomaniac.) Here and in England, William Shirer's history of the German Reich, with its implicit anti-German bias only half hidden by its explicit anti-Nazism, sells like hot cakes. (Last week, it won its author a National Book Award.)

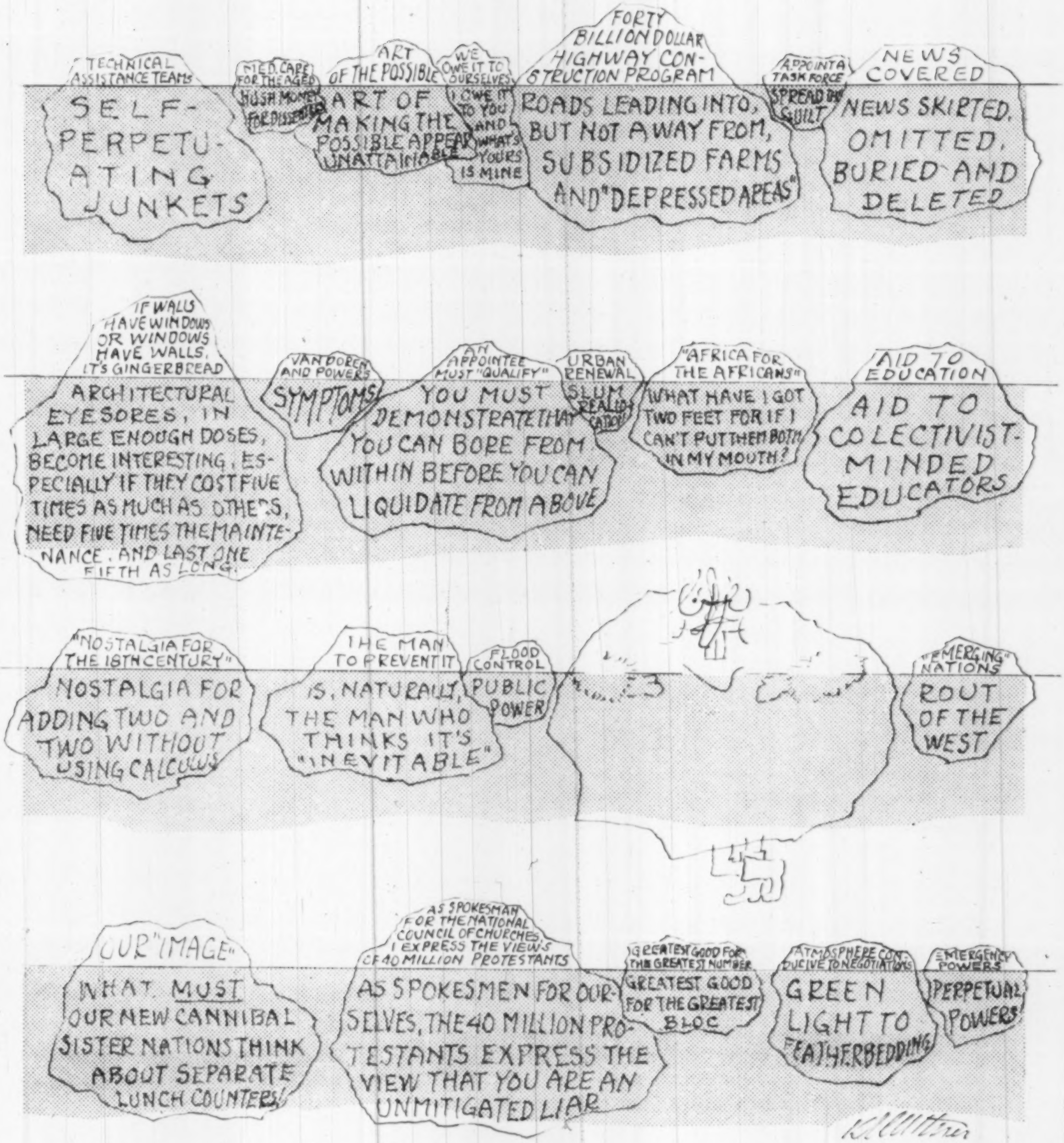
In the next weeks or months, the Communist apparatus will almost certainly move to maximize anti-German pressures by organizing demonstrations against German militarism, German participation in NATO, German bases, the German army; we shall have more and more talk about neo-Nazism in Germany. The *New York Post* has already begun to editorialize (March 14) about "the increasing evidence of Nazi poison in the German air." Meanwhile, it is fortunate that Willy Brandt, the Social-Democratic contender for Adenauer's seat, was, like Adenauer, a devoted anti-Nazi and is, like Adenauer, an experienced anti-Communist.

McCormick & Graham

Colonel Robert McCormick, who never believed in the "multiplier effect" in economics, might possibly, with the announcement that the *Washington Post* has acquired control of *Newsweek*, be brought to understand the theory of the thing a little better. In his last years, in an historical act of caprice, he sold the *Washington Times-Herald* to the *Washington Post* for a few million dollars he didn't need. With the morning competition out of the way, the *Post* instantly prospered, and for several years now every congressman who wants to restrain the growth of government, every member of the executive who wants to oppose inflation or fire a security risk, every member of the military who wants to call the Communists' bluff, is given a hard Left to the jaw every time he picks up his morning newspaper.

Affluence came to the *Post*, thanks to the legacy of the Colonel, more than Washington could absorb; and now, out of the blue, we wake up to find that the *Washington Post* has acquired a controlling in-

The Icebergs


TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE TEAMS
SELF-PERPETUATING JUNKETS
MED. CARE FOR THE AGED
HUSH MONEY FOR DISSENTERS
ART OF THE POSSIBLE
ART OF MAKING THE POSSIBLE APPEAR UNATTAINABLE
WE OWE IT TO OURSELVES
I OWE IT TO YOU AND WHAT'S YOURS IS MINE
FORTY BILLION DOLLAR HIGHWAY CONSTRUCTION PROGRAM
ROADS LEADING INTO, BUT NOT AWAY FROM, SUBSIDIZED FARMS AND "DEPRESSED AREAS"
APPOINT A TASK FORCE
SPREAD THE GUILT
NEWS COVERED
NEWS SKIRTED, OMITTED, BURIED AND DELETED
IF WALLS HAVE WINDOWS OR WINDOWS HAVE WALLS, IT'S GINGERBREAD
ARCHITECTURAL EYESORES, IN LARGE ENOUGH DOSES, BECOME INTERESTING, ESPECIALLY IF THEY COST FIVE TIMES AS MUCH AS OTHERS, NEED FIVE TIMES THE MAINTENANCE, AND LAST ONE FIFTH AS LONG.
VAN DOREN AND POWERS
SYMPTOMS!
AN APPOINTEE MUST "QUALIFY"
YOU MUST DEMONSTRATE THAT YOU CAN BORE FROM WITHIN BEFORE YOU CAN LIQUIDATE FROM ABOVE
URBAN RENEWAL
SLUM REALLOCATION
"AFRICA FOR THE AFRICANS"
WHAT HAVE I GOT TWO FEET FOR IF I CAN'T PUT THEM BOTH IN MY MOUTH?
AID TO EDUCATION
AID TO COLECTIVIST-MINDED EDUCATORS
"NOSTALGIA FOR THE 18TH CENTURY"
NOSTALGIA FOR ADDING TWO AND TWO WITHOUT USING CALCULUS
THE MAN TO PREVENT IT
IS, NATURALLY, THE MAN WHO THINKS IT'S "INEVITABLE"
FLOOD CONTROL
PUBLIC POWER
"EMERGING" NATIONS
ROUT OF THE WEST
OUR "IMAGE"
WHAT MUST OUR NEW CANNIBAL SISTER NATIONS THINK ABOUT SEPARATE LUNCH COUNTERS!
AS SPOKESMAN FOR THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES, I EXPRESS THE VIEWS OF 40 MILLION PROTESTANTS
AS SPOKESMEN FOR OURSELVES, THE 40 MILLION PROTESTANTS EXPRESS THE VIEW THAT YOU ARE AN UNMITIGATED LIAR
GREATEST GOOD FOR THE GREATEST NUMBER
GREATEST GOOD FOR THE GREATEST BLOC
ATMOSPHERE CONDUCIVE TO NEGOTIATIONS
GREEN LIGHT TO FEATHERBEDDING
"EMERGENCY POWERS"
PERPETUAL POWERS

"If you really want the truth, take it from us icebergs: There's a lot more below the surface than above it!"

terest in *Newsweek.* The usual syrup was immediately dispensed by the buyer—No Great Changes Are Contemplated. But those who have observed the *Washington Post* under the stewardship of Mr. Philip Graham know that such ideological fervor as Mr. Graham's is bound to find its own level. We can expect the creeping ideologization of a newsweekly: the birth of a hard-left national weekly newsmagazine.

It is depressing to reflect on the victories of the Left. And even more to reflect on the lassitude of the Right. Why on earth didn't a group of American businessmen interested in the survival of a free economy pick up *Newsweek* on learning that Vincent Astor's trust was putting up the stock for sale? (It is not as though buying *Newsweek* involved a financial sacrifice: the stock is worth, in the estimate of security analysts, everything the *Post* paid for it.) So maybe the old Colonel wasn't after all so out of tune with the business community. McCormick & Graham, "We specialize in the acquisition of right-wing journals by left wingers."

For those who might want to look a turn or two ahead, we suggest the following stimulus: What is going to happen to *U.S. News & World Report* when David Lawrence retires?

Misdeal for the House

President Kennedy's message on housing offered a little something all around. A "temporary or experimental" program of 40-year mortgages, without any down payment, for houses costing $13,500 or less. New rental and cooperative housing projects for low-income groups. Loans to churches, unions, cooperatives, fraternal groups and housing authorities for building units for the elderly. Loans for local sewer and water systems. Home improvement loans. Expanded federal spending for urban renewal; city planning, parks, neighborhood improvement and housing for the elderly. A new cabinet-level Department of Housing and Urban Affairs to handle this last group of projects. Something for everybody.

And, therefore, a bored response. For this grab-bag tactic is typical of the New Frontier. Mr. Kennedy does not seem to bring his ideas into clear focus—even a wrong focus. In his messages on medicine, education, foreign aid, and now housing, he has laid down doubtful and conflicting assumptions, proceeded to illogical conclusions, and sweetened the confusion with a heap of miscellaneous trinkets. It's hard to say what will come of the housing message. The citizens, surely, will find it difficult to get a full house after they've been dealt nothing but the ace of spades, two jacks, and a pair of jokers. Maybe it's dealer's choice: jokers wild.

For the Record

Sen. Thruston Morton's successor as GOP National Chairman could be former ambassador to Madrid John Lodge. Lodge was an Eisenhower appointee (acceptable to Nixon); is brother to modern Republican Henry Cabot Lodge (therefore okay with Rockefeller-Case) and is rumored to have conservative views (ditto Goldwater). . . . Franklin Delano Roosevelt Jr., who had looked for important spot in payment of aid he gave JFK before San Francisco, will have to settle for an "occasional" foreign assignment. . . . Barry Goldwater pointed out the other day that "conservative" is no longer a dirty word. He says Eastern newspapers which used to label him a conservative now add "ultra" or "super" to make sure their readers get the point. . . . Rep. Adam Clayton Powell Jr. now has 32 majority party staff members working for his House Education and Labor Committee (as opposed to 13 to 15 last year). . . . Vincent DeCain's article on the Connally Reservation (NR, March 11) has been entered in Congressional Record twice.

Important stumbling block in French-Algerian negotiations, the future of the oil-rich Sahara. France insists on — at the very least — preferential treatment in Sahara development. . . . People in the know say U.S. Ambassador Timberlake in the Congo doing a fine job; his wife, who works long hours in a Léopoldville hospital, is so well loved that Congolese troops salute her whenever she passes by.

Admiral Arleigh Burke will head list of twenty speakers at seventh annual National Military-Industrial Conference in Chicago April 10-12. (For information about meeting write: Institute for American Strategy, 140 Dearborn St., Chicago 3, Ill.) . . . The NTS, an active anti-Soviet (and Russian nationalist) organization which operates behind Iron Curtain, may have to cut back activities for lack of funds.

We have it from the horse's mouth: All alumni and alumnae of Experiment for International Living are being screened for Peace Corps service.

National Trends

The Federal Aid-to-Education Fraud

RALPH DE TOLEDANO

On Capitol Hill, the education lobby is desperately warning senators and congressmen that "it's now or never" if they hope to ram through a federal aid bill. The wartime "baby boom" which for a time crowded the public schools has tapered off. At the present rate of state and locally-financed growth, there will be a surplus of classrooms by 1970. Unless a federal aid-to-education bill is passed by this session of Congress, the openly-avowed aim of the educationists to establish a nationally-controlled school system will not be realized. ("The national welfare demands a national system of education," says *Overview*, house organ of school administrators.)

Awareness of this fact—and the growing opposition of Congress—has led proponents of federal aid to mount an all-out campaign characterized by flagrantly false statistics, tearful tugs at parental heartstrings, and hypocritical references to the "threat" of Soviet education. President Kennedy has joined the crying-towel brigade by stating that an annual increase of 60,000 classrooms for the next ten years is necessary—and that only federal intervention can bring this about. He neglects to add that, without a penny from the U.S. Treasury, the states added an average of 65,000 classrooms a year during Eisenhower's Administration.

Nowhere is it pointed out that since 1870, when the first attempt to put the federal government into the education business failed, not a single state or local school board has testified in favor of the proposed bills—and some have spoken up in opposition. The reason for this reluctance may be found in an outspoken editorial which recently appeared in *The Nation's Schools*: "Some of us seem to think that federal influence on education can be prevented by stating that it shall not exist. Federal direction is inherent in any federal law or any federal court decision pertaining to education."

The case for or against federal aid to education hinges on two points: 1) The legality of such a program, and 2) the need for it. Thomas Jefferson clearly answered those who wanted a federal school system when he stated that "the objects now recommended are not among those enumerated in the Constitution, and to which it permits the public moneys to be applied." The steady erosion of constitutional principles has obscured this from many legislators—and the educationists don't care—but federal aid-to-education remains violative of the Tenth Amendment by even the loosest of constructions.

The question of need is a simple matter of statistics. It is frequently stated that the states can no longer afford adequate educational facilities. Past performance has disproved this. But it should be noted that despite the gargantuan size of the national budget, federal revenues have increased but 68 per cent since 1944—as opposed to a rise of 259 per cent for local and state governments. In the past decade, local and state support of schools has been augmented at the rate of $1 billion a year. Appropriations have risen 153 per cent (enrollment 44 per cent)—and there has been no reported difficulty in finding subscribers for local school bond issues. Only one-half of one per cent of all school districts have exhausted available funds for school construction.

The U.S. Office of Education, controlled by the education lobby, was forced to concede in 1959 that the shortage of classrooms was only 132,400. In 1960, school construction was great enough to absorb an increased school population of one million, to replace close to 18,000 substandard classrooms, and to contribute an additional 15,000 toward the shortage. Yet the Office of Education blandly reported that the shortage had *increased* to 142,100. An objective investigation of this figure demonstrated its arithmetical impossibility. This investigation, conducted by the Bureau of the Budget, turned up such interesting tidbits as the fact that Alabama, with an unchanged school population, was credited with a 256 per cent rise in "pupils in excess of normal capacity" though its school plant had been increased by 4,200 classrooms.

Though the education lobby continually warns of the "worsening" school situation, it can do so only by keeping Congress and the nation ignorant of the fact that since 1954 the number of public school students per classroom has fallen from 30.6 to 27.8. The number of students per teacher has also been reduced: 30 per teacher in 1900, 29 in 1930, 24.4 in 1960. The annual rise in enrollments will drop dramatically to 50 per cent of the current one million by 1970.

The argument that the American people are stinting on education in order to buy television sets and tail-fin cars also falls by the board. Since 1900, consumer expenditures in this country increased 25-fold. But without any federal aid, the outlays by states and local communities have become 74 times as great. The percentage of the national income devoted to education has been quadrupled. Since 1930, the pay of state and local government employees rose 58 per cent in constant dollars. But teachers, who claim that they are discriminated against, had pay boosts of 106 per cent. It may be that teachers are not paid enough. But the Labor Department reports that women teachers who hold college degrees earn $150 a year more than their classmates for 60 days' less work.

If federal aid-to-education becomes a fact, the U.S. Office of Education will become the nation's biggest and most powerful school board. It has, in anticipation of the great day, quadrupled its staff over the past six years. It has already announced its plans to "develop a national policy in education" by standardizing the curricula and the organization of the public schools. For the educationists, the day of the Big Red Schoolhouse is at hand. That the United States has the best educational plant in the world is not enough for them. Until it is as fully regimented as the Soviet Union's, they will still consider it deficient.

The Third World War

Dispatch from a Forgotten Front

JAMES BURNHAM

Few Americans have heard of Hasan Muhammad Tiro, nor would they find it enlightening if he were described by his formal title: Ambassador-at-large of the Federation of Indonesia to North and South America and to the United Nations. (An ambassador invisible to his presumptive hosts, of course: the Federation being an entity in no wise identical with Sukarno's Republic of Indonesia, whose envoys are received by Washington and the East River temple.)

Yet there is nothing musical-comedy about Tiro's job or title. In both private and public capacities he has some claim to our attention. Hasan Tiro is intelligent, well educated, well informed, and endowed with a seldom met combination of charm and firmness. He is the authorized representative of the inhabitants of the Indonesian islands who have broken with Sukarno's centralized Jakarta government, and have formed a federal government of their own.

Until the other afternoon, it had been nearly two years since I had seen Hasan Tiro. Much of the intervening time he had spent in his homeland, principally in Sumatra. I asked him, as we were leafing through dozens of photographs of rebel soldiers, villages and activities, how many Indonesians were now under the rebel government—his government. He ticked off the list, district by district—north Sumatra, central, southern; east, west Celebes; the Moluccas; west Java . . . — and came up with a total of "about twenty million." Let us say that Hasan Tiro exaggerated by two, four, six times over. It still comes to a figure that considerably outweighs anything that a couple of dozen of the new African ambassadors can point to.

"I had not been back for several years," Hasan Tiro went on, "and I was really astonished at what I found. In Sumatra we control everything except for the larger towns and their immediate environs. The cities are just barracks towns for Sukarno's soldiers. I came in by boat: there was no trouble landing, because the coast, outside the seaport cities, is entirely in our hands."

Oil on South Sea Waters

"How about the American-owned oil fields and pipe lines?" I asked.

"We can destroy the oil installations whenever we choose. But we prefer not to carry out what might seem an anti-American action. Besides, even without the oil, Sukarno can keep going if he is still getting massive support from *both* the USSR and the U.S."

He pointed to one of the photographs. "Our soldiers use bicycles, as you can see. The bridges are all down, and we keep them down, so that Sukarno's troops can't use their motorized transport. We keep the telephone lines cut also, to interfere with their communications. We have our own radios, and our main centers keep in touch with each other not only inside each island, but from island to island. The big political development during the past two years has been the practical unity established among all the rebel and dissident tendencies. Before that the various religious, ethnic and political groups were flying at cross purposes."

"Are you irrevocably committed to overthrow of the Sukarno regime?"

"We are still ready to come to terms with Sukarno, if he abandons his excessive centralism, which is in point of fact Javanese imperialism, in reality drops his pro-Soviet foreign policy, and outlaws the Communists. Sukarno's centralized state, and his suppression of all non-Communist political organizations are made to order for the Communists. They can bide their time, and slip into power almost automatically at the appropriate moment. If the centralized state structure is consolidated, the Communists can get at one stroke not Java only, but the whole chain of islands."

"How about General Nasution? He seems to be the man that Washington counts on."

"Politically, Nasution is Sukarno's puppet. Sukarno has him make an occasional show of independence just to play up to the State Department. After all, it is Nasution who has negotiated the new $400 million arms deal with the Russians. Those arms are publicly rumored to be for possible use against the Dutch in New Guinea. Actually they, like the arms you have been supplying, are for use against us."

With his shyly charming and very firm smile, he picked up another of the photographs, showing himself addressing a line of irregularly uniformed but businesslike soldiers. "I am saying goodbye to my bodyguard, that was with me for the ten months. What we really need now, what we must have, is more arms. We have to pay black market operators up to two thousand dollars for a submachine gun worth about twenty-five. There are so many arms in the world. It would be no trouble to make it easier for us to get some of them."

In the Footsteps of Lumumba

"We amount to a good deal more," he went on, and allowed his tone to sound a little proud, "than the Pathet Lao that is now almost ready to take control of all Laos. But the Pathet Lao's friends made sure that it had the arms and equipment it needed."

Hasan Tiro's smile was still there, but had turned somber. "At the very beginning of his administration, your new President invites as his honored guest—Sukarno! As if to underwrite Sukarno's arms deal with Moscow, his support of the Soviets on every international issue, his anti-Western extremism, his brutal campaigns to wipe out our resistance! What will this visit mean to our people, to our soldiers and guerrillas who serve, all of them, as volunteers without pay? Politically speaking, this invitation to Sukarno is a deadlier blow against us than anything Sukarno himself has been able to deliver. We do not ask you to fight our battles for us. That is our job. But we wonder why you must make yourselves our enemy."

A Foreign Policy for America

Senator Goldwater, whose domestic views are widely known, sets forth a program of anti-Communist next line action based on Third World War realities.

BARRY GOLDWATER

I begin by making some assumptions with regard to our national objectives. I do not mean to suggest that these assumptions are self-evident, in the sense that everyone agrees with them. If they were, Walter Lippmann would be writing the same columns as George Sokolsky, and Herblock would have nothing to draw cartoons about. I do mean, however, that *I* take them for granted, and that everything I shall be saying would appear quite idiotic against any contrary assumptions.

Assumption 1. The ultimate objective of American policy is to help establish a world in which there is the largest possible measure of freedom and justice and peace and material prosperity; and in particular—since this is our special responsibility—that these conditions be enjoyed by the people of the United States. I speak of "the largest possible measure" because any person who supposes that these conditions can be universally and perfectly achieved—ever—reckons without the inherent imperfectability of himself and his fellow human beings, and is therefore a dangerous man to have around.

Assumption 2. These conditions are unobtainable—are not even approachable in the qualified sense I have indicated—without the prior defeat of world Communism. This is true for two reasons: because Communism is both doctrinally, and in practice, antithetical to these conditions; and because Communists have the will and, as long as Soviet power remains intact, the capacity to prevent their realization. Moreover, as Communist power increases, the enjoyment of these conditions throughout the world diminishes *pro rata* and the possibility of their restoration becomes increasingly remote.

Assumption 3. It follows that victory over Communism is the dominant, proximate goal of American policy. Proximate in the sense that there are more distant, more "positive" ends we seek, to which victory over Communism is but a means. But dominant in the sense that every other objective, no matter how worthy intrinsically, must defer to it. Peace is a worthy objective; but if we must choose between peace and keeping the Communists out of Berlin, then we must fight. Freedom, in the sense of self-determination, is a worthy objective; but if granting self-determination to the Algerian rebels entails sweeping that area into the Sino-Soviet orbit, then Algerian freedom must be postponed. Justice is a worthy objective; but if justice for Bantus entails driving the government of the Union of South Africa away from the West, then the Bantus must be prepared to carry their identification cards yet a while longer. Prosperity is a worthy objective; but if providing higher standards of living gets in the way of producing sufficient guns to resist Communist aggression, then material sacrifices and denials will have to be made. It may be, of course, that such objectives can be pursued consistently with a policy designed to overthrow Communism; my point is that where conflicts arise they must always be resolved in favor of achieving the indispensable condition for a tolerant world—the absence of Soviet Communist power.

The Uses of Power

This much having been said, the question remains whether we have the resources for the job we have to do—defeat Communism—and, if so, how those resources ought to be used. This brings us squarely to the problem of *power*, and the uses a nation makes of power. I submit that this is the key problem of international relations, that it always has been, that it always will be. And I suggest further that the main cause of the trouble we are in has been the failure of American policy-makers, ever since we assumed free world leadership in 1945, to deal with this problem realistically and seriously.

In the recent political campaign two charges were leveled affecting the question of power, and I think we might begin by trying to put them into proper focus. One was demonstrably false; the other, for the most part, true.

The first was that America had become—or was in danger of becoming—a second-rate military power. I know I do not have to dwell here on the absurdity of that contention. You may have misgivings about certain aspects of our military establishment—I certainly do—but you know any comparison of over-all American strength with over-all Soviet strength finds the United States not only superior, but so superior both in present weapons and in the development of new ones that our advantage promises to be a permanent feature of U.S.-Soviet relations for the foreseeable future.

I have often searched for a graphic way of impressing our superiority on those Americans who have doubts, and I think Mr. Jameson Campaigne has done it well in his new book *American Might and Soviet Myth*. Suppose, he says, that the tables were turned, and we were in the Soviets' position: "There would be more than 2,000 modern Soviet fighters, all better than ours, stationed at 250 bases in Mexico and the Caribbean. Overwhelming Russian naval power would always be within a few hundred miles of our coast. Half of the population of the U.S. would be needed to work on arms just to feed the people." Add this to the unrest in the countries around us where oppressed peoples would be ready to turn on us at the first opportunity. Add also a comparatively primitive industrial plant which would severely limit our capacity to keep abreast of the Soviets even in the missile field which is reputed to be our main strength.

If we look at the situation this way, we can get an idea of Khrushchev's nightmarish worries—or, at least, of the worries he might have if his enemies were disposed to exploit their advantage.

U.S. "Prestige"

The other charge was that America's political position in the world has progressively deteriorated in recent years. The contention needs to be formulated with much greater precision than it ever was during the campaign, but once that has been done, I fail to see how any serious student of world affairs can quarrel with it.

The argument was typically advanced in terms of U.S. "prestige." Prestige, however, is only a minor part of the problem; and even then, it is a concept that can be highly misleading. Prestige is a measure of how other people think of you, well or ill. But contrary to what was implied during the campaign, prestige is surely not important for its own sake. Only the vain and incurably sentimental among us will lose sleep simply because foreign peoples are not as impressed by our strength as they ought to be. The thing to lose sleep over is what people, having concluded that we are weaker than we are, are likely to do about it.

The evidence suggests that foreign peoples believe the United States is weaker than the Soviet Union, and is bound to fall still further behind in the years ahead. This ignorant estimate, I repeat, is not of any interest in itself; but it becomes very important if foreign peoples react the way human beings typically do—namely, by taking steps to end up on what appears to be the winning side. To the extent, then, that declining U.S. prestige means that other nations will be tempted to place their bets on an ultimate American defeat, and will thus be more vulnerable to Soviet intimidation, there is reason for concern.

Still, these guesses about the outcome of the struggle cannot be as important as the actual power relationship between the Soviet Union and ourselves. Here I do not speak of military power where our advantage is obvious and overwhelming but of political power—of influence, if you will—about which the relevant questions are: Is Soviet influence throughout the world greater or less than it was ten years ago? And is Western influence greater or less than it used to be?

Senator Barry Goldwater

Communist Gains

In answering these questions, we need to ask not merely whether Communist troops have crossed over into territories they did not occupy before, and not merely whether disciplined agents of the Cominform are in control of governments from which they were formerly excluded: the success of Communism's war against the West does not depend on such spectacular and definitive conquests. Success may mean merely the displacement of Western influence.

Communist political warfare, we must remember, is waged insidiously and in deliberate stages. Fearful of inviting a military showdown with the West which they could not win, the Communists seek to undermine Western power where the nuclear might of the West is irrelevant—in backwoods guerrilla skirmishes, in mob uprisings in the streets, in parliaments, in clandestine meetings of undercover conspirators, at the United Nations, on the propaganda front, at diplomatic conferences—preferably at the highest level.

The Soviets understand, moreover, that the first step in turning a country toward Communism is to turn it against the West. Thus, typically, the first stage of a Communist takeover is to "neutralize" a country. The second stage is to retain the nominal classification of "neutralist," while in fact turning the country into an active advocate and adherent of Soviet policy. And this may be as far as the process will go. The Kremlin's goal is the isolation and capture, not of Ghana, but of the United States—and this purpose may be served very well by countries that masquerade under a "neutralist" mask, yet in fact are dependable auxiliaries of the Soviet Foreign Office.

To recite the particulars of recent Soviet successes is hardly reassuring.

Six years ago French Indochina, though in trouble, was in the Western camp. Today Northern Vietnam is overtly Communist; Laos is teetering between Communism and pro-Communist neutralism; Cambodia is, for all practical purposes, neutralist.

Indonesia, in the early days of the Republic, leaned toward the West. Today Sukarno's government is heavily besieged by avowed Communists, and for all of its "neutralist" pretensions, it is a firm ally of Soviet policy.

Ceylon has moved from a pro-Western orientation to a neutralism openly hostile to the West.

In the Middle East, Iraq, Syria and Egypt were, a short while ago, in the Western camp. Today the Nasser and Kassem governments are adamantly hostile to the West, are dependent for their military power on Soviet equipment and personnel; in almost every particular follow the Kremlin's foreign policy line.

A short time ago all Africa was a Western preserve. Never mind whether the Kikiyus and the Bantus enjoyed Wilsonian self-determination: the point is that in the struggle for the world that vast land mass was under the domination and influence of the West. Today, Africa is swerving violently away from the West and plunging, it would seem, into the Soviet orbit.

Latin America was once an area as "safe" for the West as Nebraska was for Nixon. Today it is up for grabs. One Latin American country, Cuba, has become a Soviet bridgehead ninety miles off our coast. In some countries the trend has gone further than others: Mexico, Panama, and Venezuela are displaying open sympathy for Castroism, and there is no country—save the Dominican Republic whose funeral services we recently arranged—where Castroism and anti-Americanism does not prevent the government from unqualifiedly espousing the American cause.

Only in Europe have our lines remained firm—and there only on the surface. The strains of neutralism are running strong, notably in England, and even in Germany.

Opportunities Missed

What have we to show by way of counter-successes? We have had opportunities—clear invitations to plant our influence on the other side of the Iron Curtain. There was the Hungarian Revolution which we praised and mourned, but did nothing about. There was the Polish Revolution which we misunderstood and then helped guide along a course favorable to Soviet interests. There was the revolution in Tibet which we pretended did not exist. Only in one instance have we moved purposively and effectively to dislodge existing Communist power: in Guatemala. And contrary to what has been said recently, we did not wait for "outside pressures" and "world opinion" to bring down that Communist government; we moved decisively to effect an anti-Communist *coup d'état*. We served our national interests, and by so doing we saved the Guatemalan people the ultimate in human misery. If there be doubts, ask the Hungarian people. Ask the Cuban people.

Guatemala is our single triumph. We have held the line in some places—in Lebanon, in Berlin, in the Formosa Straits—but nowhere else in the far-flung battle for the world have we *extended* the influence of the United States and *advanced* the cause of freedom.

Unless radical changes are made on our side, the situation will progressively worsen until the United States is at bay—isolated and besieged by an entirely hostile world. We will have to shed the attitudes and techniques of the Salvation Army, and start behaving like a Great Power. To gain respect, not prestige. I do not mean to disparage the Salvation Army. I do mean, however, that the affairs of nations are not determined by goodwill tours, almsgiving, gestures of self-denial, rehabilitation projects and discussion programs. The affairs of nations are determined—for good or for evil—by power.

The Soviet Union has not gotten where it is today through the attractiveness of its doctrines and practices. It has set its sights on distinct, concrete targets—on geographical areas or power centers which it means to infiltrate and eventually conquer—and then it has turned the full weight of its national power, plus the power of the international apparatus it controls, to these particular targets. The United States has never viewed the world struggle in quite this way—as, in effect, a military campaign where one isolates his objective, marshals his forces, and takes it! Rather, we have proceeded on the tacit assumption that virtue is its own reward, and that our only real problem is to make sure that the world perceives our virtue.

Moreover, we entered this supposed contest for world approval with a kind of guilt complex. I suspect the cause lies deep in America's past. Having been brought up on childish myths about the evil of European power politics, Americans felt uneasy when the rights and duties of the greatest power in earth suddenly fell upon them at the end of the Second World War. In order to prove that we were unlike our predecessors in power—selfish, ambitious, warlike—we began to lean over backwards, and to gear our policies to the opinions of others. There are notable exceptions—as when, for example, we have submitted to the imperatives of self-defense: in Greece, in Korea, in the Formosa Straits, in Berlin. But in theme and thrust and motive American foreign policy has been primarily an exercise in self-ingratiation.

I am, of course, over-simplifying the case; but not, I think, exaggerating it. Foreign aid, deference to the United Nations, cultural exchange programs, Summit conferences, the nuclear test ban, advocacy of general disarmament, the proposal to forego the protection of the Connally Reservation, anti-colonialism, the refusal to intervene in Cuba and the Congo—all of these programs and postures and attitudes have a single common denominator: an effort to please world opinion. Indeed, many of these policies are frankly acknowledged by their proponents to be contrary to the immediate interest of the United States; and yet they must be pursued, we are told, because of the overriding importance of having the world think well of us. This sluggish sentimentality, this obsession for pleasing people, has become a matter of grand strategy; has become no less than the guiding principle of American policy. It is leading us to national and international disaster.

How to Lose Respect

There are three fairly plain reasons—aside from the fact that it is a substitute for a real foreign policy—why deference to world opinion is so harmful to American interests.

First, it is self-defeating in the sense that the very admiration and respect we covet is denied to us the moment we go out and beg for it. The would-be beneficiaries of our concessions and self-denials soon construe them as weaknesses, and want more. Does anyone seriously suppose that our generous decision to permit the Panamanian flag to fly over American territory in the Canal Zone will placate the Panamanian nationalists? The gesture is bound simply to whet the mob's appetite and transfer its sights to bigger targets.

Second, trying to prove one's good faith when it has never really been open to question has the paradoxical effect of raising doubts about that good faith. It is partly a matter of protesting too much; and partly a matter of getting into a propaganda contest with a skunk. When we try to match the Kremlin's professions of love of democracy and peace, and hatred for armaments and colonialism, we invite the world to look upon us, as it looks upon the Soviets, as propagandists with something to hide. By not taking the superiority of ourselves and our cause for granted, we forbid others to take it for granted, and we find ourselves forced to make a new plea before the bar of "world opinion" every time *Pravda* opens its mouth.

Third, in deciding to gear our policies to world opinion, we have chosen the standard that is most vulnerable to manipulation by our enemies. When we talk about world opinion, we are not talking about a consensus of two billion human beings, most of whose opinions we know literally nothing about; we are talking about that tiny segment of the world's population that can make itself heard. Intellectuals, journalists, the organizers of street mobs. But these real sources of world opinion are, historically, prime targets for Communist infiltration because of their critical importance in the kind of struggle we are now witnessing. Thus, it is only natural that Communist influence in such areas should be far out of proportion to Communism's real strength in the world. When we permit world opinion to determine our policy toward Trujillo and Syngman Rhee, we are, in effect, giving our mortal enemies a voice in our own councils.

Five Situations

Let me turn now to five concrete situations, and suggest in broad outline how a nation, fully cognizant of the rights and duties that befall the guardian of Western civilization, might deal with them.

Cuba. We begin by denying that the way to rid the hemisphere of Castro is to break relations with Trujillo. Trujillo is not an enemy and a threat to the United States; Castro and his Communist patrons are, and it is to dangerous enemies that the disciplinary power of the United States is properly addressed. We should, therefore, make it clear in the most explicit terms that Communist governments are not tolerated in this hemisphere—and that the Castro regime, being such a government, will be eliminated.

Since it is better to act in concert with our fellow American Republics, we would try to secure their support by whatever discreet reminders are necessary of America's importance to their economic and political well-being. We would then proceed with the relevant economic embargo against Cuba, supported, if necessary, by a naval blockade. We would anticipate riots in the streets of Rio, Caracas and Mexico City, which we would ignore. And while showing our hand as little as possible, we would groom, and if necessary openly assist, a successor government which we would confidently expect to see in power in six months.

Africa. We begin by asserting that it is a Western protégé and a Western responsibility. We of the West should insist on credit for bringing the African masses this far. Remembering our own early attempts to create a government for ourselves—years of argument and indecision—we must recognize the difficult but necessary task of elevating Africans to the point, culturally, economically, and politically, where they are capable of responsible self-government; but we should add that we do not, for that reason, propose to turn them over to the ravages of Communism.

It may be that native leaders will emerge who are friends of the West and who, with our support, can lead their peoples to some measure of orderly, progressive self-government. Where such leaders have not emerged, the West must hold on. We cannot acquiesce in independence movements where independence means a return to savagery or Communist domination. Much less can we afford to jump on the bandwagon of anti-colonialism and so accelerate the mad rush toward anarchy and Soviet peonage. In areas where Western power still prevails, the full weight of American diplomacy must be employed to sustain it. In areas that have already fallen under Communist influence, we must proceed, overtly and covertly, to restore Western influence.

Perhaps the answer is an interim African Protectorate, administered by an association of Western nations. The purpose of such a protectorate would be to preside over a crash program for preparing the African people economically, politically, and culturally for the responsibilities of self-government in an atmosphere conducive to the triumph of Western concepts of justice and freedom. Such a policy would be denounced in many parts of the world as reactionary, chauvinistic and oppressive. Such recriminations we would have to endure. For there would be no doubt in our minds that the colonial system, even in its present state of development, is better for the African people than the misery and chaos into which they are now plunging headlong.

We would hold on to Africa, in part because Western survival there is essential to victory over Communism; but no less because we know that the privilege of being born in the West carries with it the responsibility of extending our good fortune to others. We are the bearers of Western civilization, the most noble product of the heart and mind of man.

Disarmament. We begin by announcing that we are against it. We are against it because we *need* all the armaments we presently have, and more—the weapons for limited war—that we do not have.

Armament races throughout history have always been a symptom of international friction—not a cause of it. Friction does not disappear by rival nations suddenly deciding to turn their swords into ploughshares. No nation in its right mind will give up the means of defending itself without first making sure that hostile powers are no longer in a position to threaten it. The Communist leaders are, of course, in their right minds. They may preach general disarmament for propaganda purposes. They may also seriously promote mutual disarmament in certain weapons in the knowledge that their superior strength in other weapons would leave them, on balance, decisively stronger than the West. Thus, in the light of the West's weakness in conventional weapons, it might make sense for the Communists to seek disarmament in the nuclear field. If all nuclear weapons suddenly ceased to exist, much of the world would immediately be laid open to conquest by the masses of Russian and Chinese manpower.

I do not suggest that any of our responsible leaders take disarmament seriously: they certainly do not favor unilateral disarmament, and they know the Soviets would not join us in any mutual disarmament that is not to their advantage. What I object to is *saying* we favor disarmament. The danger here is that we become hoist by the petard of our own propaganda.

This has already happened in the critical matter of nuclear tests—so vital to our national security. We originally agreed to suspend our tests, partly on the sentimental notion that the Russians were seriously interested in devising an adequate system of inspection and controls—but mostly because we felt the pressure of a "world opinion" we helped create concerning the dangers of radioactive fallout and the ultimate horrors of a nuclear holocaust. Yet now, when the illusions about Soviet intentions have been dispelled, and though the danger of fallout from the kind of underground and stratospheric testing we propose is non-existent, we *still* find it difficult to resume testing for fear of offending the brooding omnipotence of world opinion.

I fear the same consequences will follow from our attempts to match Soviet propaganda concerning the desirability of general disarmament. Already strong pressures are bearing down upon us to "do something" about it. The function of our propaganda should be to educate the people of the world about the realities of life—not to promote an escape from them. Plain talking on the subject of disarmament would do much to further this education.

The United Nations. We begin by not taking it seriously. The United Nations has its useful functions, but the formulation and conduct of American foreign policy is not among them.

On past occasions, when we have subordinated to United Nations policy our own notions of how to wage the cold war effectively, Western interests have suflered—the Korean War, the Suez crisis, the Iraqi revolution, this year's events in the Congo and many others. This is not surprising when we remember that United Nations policy has been the common denominator of the foreign policies of eighty-odd nations, some mortally hostile to us, some indifferent to our interests, nearly all less determined than we to save the world from Communist domination. Continued American deference to the United Nations in the future will invite the very direst consequences.

I submit that the important event at the recent session of the United Nations was not what Communism did with its right hand: Khrushchev's shoe-banging display and the dirty names he called Western leaders—but what Communism accomplished with its left: the successful campaign to get all of the serious themes of the current Soviet foreign policy line endorsed by allegedly neutral nations. Messrs. Tito, Nkrumah, Sukarno, Nehru and Nasser—though their proposals were pro-Soviet in every particular—became a kind of "centrist" block whose favor we found ourselves earnestly courting. This bizarre turn of events is one indication that the power center of the United Nations has moved sharply to the left.

We must liberate our own people and other people from the superstition that international policies—in order to be "good"—must have the approval of the United Nations. There may be occasions when the United Nations can be utilized to provide a broad base to policies that further Western interests. But when submission of a matter to the United Nations will predictably muddy the waters and obstruct the pursuit of American policy, then we must, as we did in the case of Berlin, quietly insist on settling the problem elsewhere.

Take the Offensive

Eastern Europe. We begin by having serious designs on it. Since Communism is organically expansive, it follows—given the laws of momentum and inertia—that we cannot succeed by attempting, merely, to hold on to what we have. American policy must be geared to the offensive. Our appetite for Communist territory must be every bit as keen as theirs for non-Communist territory. Our efforts to extend freedom behind the Iron Curtain must be no less vigorous than their never-ending campaign to spread the influence of Communism in the free world.

We should encourage the captive peoples to revolt against their Communist rulers. This policy must be pursued with caution and prudence, as well as courage. The freedom fighters must be made to understand that the time and place and method of such uprisings will be dictated by the needs of an over-all world strategy. To this end we should establish close liaison with underground leaders behind the Iron Curtain, furnishing them printing presses, radios, weapons, instructors: the paraphernalia of a full-fledged Resistance.

We must ourselves be prepared to undertake military operations against vulnerable Communist regimes. Assume we have developed nuclear weapons that can be used in land warfare, and that we have equipped our European divisions accordingly. Assume also a major uprising in Eastern Europe such as occurred in Budapest in 1956. In such a situation, we ought to present the Kremlin with an ultimatum forbidding Soviet intervention, and be prepared, if the ultimatum is rejected, to move a highly mobile task force equipped with appropriate nuclear weapons to the scene of the revolt. Our objectives would be to confront the Soviet Union with superior forces in the immediate vicinity of the uprisings and to compel a Soviet withdrawal. An actual clash between American and Soviet armies would be unlikely; the mere threat of American action, coupled with the Kremlin's knowledge that the fighting would occur amid a hostile population and could easily spread to other areas, would probably result in Soviet acceptance of the ultimatum. The Kremlin would also be put on notice, of course, that resort to long-range bombers and missiles would prompt automatic retaliation in kind. On this level, we would invite the Communist leaders to choose between total destruction of the Soviet Union, and accepting a local defeat. Had we the will and the means for it in 1956, such a policy would have saved the Hungarian Revolution.

Might does not make right, but right cannot survive without might and without using might. History is not the story of the triumph of virtue, though virtue when properly supported has sometimes triumphed. The people of the world and their leaders do not rally instinctively behind good causes: if that were true, the plague of Communism would long since have disappeared from our planet. They do, however, rally behind good causes that are energetically and purposively pressed, and that show promise of winning. If we simply summon the courage of our convictions, the blessings of a moderately tolerable life will soon fall on others, as well as ourselves. And future generations will honor us.

Letter from the Congo

ANTHONY LEJEUNE

The Day Lumumba Died

Katanga's Secretary of the Interior, Godefroid Munongo, is a tough, balding African who wears dark glasses even in a dusky room. He called us together, on the exact day and at the exact hour which rumor had predicted, and announced the death "in the bush at the hands of tribesmen" of Patrice Lumumba. He then distributed souvenirs: heart-shaped gilt lockets containing pictures of Lumumba. He had found them on sale in the shops, he said, and they showed how deep the Lumumba poison had spread.

I spent several more days in Elizabethville after that, trying to piece together the real story of Lumumba's end. I believe he was taken out into the bush on the night of January 18 and machine-gunned. I believe a Belgian officer who was present tried vainly to prevent the killing. The escape story was probably worked out afterwards between Tshombe, Munongo and Kalonji of South Kasai. On the appointed day in February when the escape was announced, I understand Kalonji received a radio message from Elizabethville, saying simply: "The three men have escaped. They have stolen a car. All is well." Just what sort of bodies the Belgian doctor saw three mornings later remains doubtful but I could offer some grim suggestions.

As a historical mystery story the affair is fascinating. But how significant is it? *"C'est fini,"* said Munongo blandly, shrugging and spreading his black hands. The gist of his official statement was no less bland: "We didn't kill Lumumba and, if you think we did, prove it. In any case, the outside world has no right to complain; a world that has stood by while such good men as Mihailovich and Nagy and Maleter were killed."

Tshombe and Munongo find it incredible that so many people should make such a fuss over the death, however it may have occurred, of a small-time megalomaniac crook who was largely responsible for plunging the Congo into its present chaos. That a Ghanaian sect should canonize Lumumba, that the civilized capitals of the world should be convulsed for his sake, all that seems merely farcical. And to the rulers of Katanga it seems remote and unimportant.

I doubt if Tshombe so much as reads the newspapers. His government does subscribe to an international press-cutting service but nobody pays much attention to it. His contempt for the United Nations is complete. He didn't even bother to tell them about Lumumba's death: they had to ask the newspapermen.

Tshombe is very confident. He has evidently decided that the time has came to clean house. First: get rid of Lumumba. Second: make a military push northwards and clear the railroad line to Kamina. Third: try to arrange at least a preliminary alliance with the other non-Communist anti-Lumumba fragments.

And, of course, he is quite right. The Congo's future is, on any basis, perilous in the extreme: but, short of twenty years of firm rule by the United Nations or a civilized power, some kind of loose federation between the relatively responsible elements remains the best chance there is. And Tshombe's government is relatively responsible.

Not that Katanga is a particularly pleasant place to visit now. Its capital, Elizabethville, gives the impression of a small seaside town — out of season. Nothing works properly any more. Tshombe-money looks like soap coupons and is worth about as much. A few European mercenaries swagger about the streets, and Congolese soldiers with fixed bayonets and loaded machine guns rigorously scrutinize identity papers which they cannot read. Everything is calm but there is an undercurrent of nerve-tearing tension. A little way to the north are the hostile Balubas: and the Balubas, not to put too fine a point on it, eat people.

A visit to post-independence Congo is the finest cure I know for Liberal ideas. It should dispose once and for all of the cardinal fallacy that the whole world is populated by natural Liberals who are simply waiting for the chance to put their lofty ideals into practice. Mr. Tshombe just isn't like that. Nor is Mr. Kasavubu. Nor was Patrice Lumumba. Nor are the millions of tribesmen who have slipped back in less than one terrible year to much the same condition of savagery in which Stanley found them; except that some of their warriors now have machine guns as well as poisoned arrows.

But the Liberal in his ivory tower is a very resilient thing. He still finds it possible to weep for Mr. Lumumba. He still lays all blame for the Congo at the door of the hapless Belgians. The Belgians are indeed to blame but not in the way the Liberals imagine. The Congo has excellent hospitals, schools, a university: its air communications are among the best in Africa. The Belgians brought these things. They administered this vast country and kept it peaceful.

Then they listened to the Liberal clamor, they yielded to the agitators, they bowed before the wind of change, and almost overnight they threw it all away. Everyone knew what would happen when independence came to the Congo, but no one had the will to stop it.

That is the really terrifying part. All over Africa, Christian civilization is in retreat because nobody seems any longer to believe in it. Like Mowgli in the Kipling story we are "letting the jungle in," and once the jungle takes hold it works with awful speed.

Perhaps it's already too late to explain this to people in Britain or America. But, with the memory of Africa and its faces still in my mind, there is a simpler thing I should like to say. Just this: we should fall down on our knees and thank God for Wimbledon and Yonkers, for Wigan and Flatbush, for our world of clean water and honest policemen and money which is almost sound and politicians who are almost honorable. Never forget how close the jungle is and the beasts that prowl there.

Apples, Planets, Dollars

An English scholar and student of Ezra Pound asks the community of Getters and Spenders to hearken to the poet's insight into the science of economics.

HUGH KENNER

It is arguable that the taste for system has cost many sharp minds their impact. Thus men who freely deplore the thousand years' waste of effort patching up the Ptolemaic cosmos entailed will waste months of their own trying to spin three or four individually valid ideas into a complete economic doctrine or a hundred-legged theory of history. Some blame for this misdirection of effort must also be assumed by the reader who has let himself be persuaded that anything less would be "incoherent."

The Catholic Church has always been wise enough never to define a doctrine until the definition was needed.

The movements of apples and the movements of planets cohered before Newton had worked out a common law. His genius manifested itself in associating the two. And having perceived the association he did not, to his credit, fill the universe with a system of levers designed to account for it.

A remark of Ezra Pound's belongs in some such context: "People quite often think me crazy when I make a jump instead of a step, just as if all jumps were unsound and never carried one anywhere." And again: "Every man has the right to have his ideas examined *one at a time.*"

It is Pound's blessed innocence of the lust after system that enables him to pack his pages so tightly with viable statements, and pages written forty years apart to lie side by side like floor joists. The pages collected in *Impact: Essays on Ignorance and the Decline of American Civilization* (Regnery, $5.00) date back as far as 1918, and ran to five propositions on taxation dated 1959. In 1960 their unity of relevance is astonishing. The range embraces "Bureaucracy the Flail of Jehovah" (1928), a commentary on the terminology of Mencius (1938) and an "Introduction to the Economic Nature of the United States" (1944). On a single page of the latter our attention is directed to the Salem Museum, the City Republics of Venice and Genoa, and the improvident slaughter of bison. Like the apples and the planets, these things are aspects of the same coherent reality, and since one of them has no logical precedence over another, Pound has felt free to make leaps. If this is hard on the reader who habitually opens a book on page 1 expecting a paved expressway to page 350, it does him the service of not pretending that civilization's truths form a neatly graduated series.

The Trouble with Systems

Systems grew out of curricula; they were mnemonic devices to help students prepare for examinations. The Rev. Walter J. Ong's *Ramus, Method and the Decay of Dialogue* (Harvard, 1958) is the pioneer history of this process. They have achieved such a grip on the presentation of any and every mode of knowledge that we now attribute their absence not to the nature of what the writer is interested in, but to some radical disorder in his mind. The psychiatrists who consigned Pound to an asylum in 1946 noted in support of their diagnosis that he tended to jump from one topic to another.

Yet system obfuscates. It leads us to suppose that all possible relevant knowledge has been accounted for (the earth cannot move because we have a perfectly finished cosmology postulating that it is stationary), and that subjects of study have natural boundaries (the apple belongs to botany, the moon to cosmography). It may yet prove to have been a turning point in American intellectual history that one man, an intellectual descendant of Louis Agassiz, undeterred by such reverence for symmetry, refused to believe that the main lines of American history had been established, or that there was any good reason for a poet shunning economics (a subject which interested Coleridge and Ruskin before curricular lines had been so tightly drawn).

With the appearance of *Impact,* tightly and intelligently edited by Noel Stock, we are at last in a position to grasp the extra-literary preoccupations about which Pound was making such a fuss in the 1930s and 1940s, to the great distress of disciples whose curiosity stopped with the technique of verse. We have been told that he ran wild after economics. But economics interests him less than Money itself, a subject of study not much encouraged anywhere. This is odd on the face of it. A people required to pay their taxes in wheat would understand how wheat was gotten. It would be crystal clear to such a people that "extortion insists on payment in something which the payer has not, and which he can only obtain at a price unjustly high." But "in the present circumstances your taxes are to be paid in money. And the taxpayer is too illiterate to ask what money is; who issues it; under what circumstances is it obtainable?"

In the thirty years or so since he first asked these questions, Pound has been tirelessly piecing together a set of answers, which by now may be summarized as follows:

1. Money is first a *measure* of relative prices, allowing us to compare pigs and shoes for purposes of exchange: and it is second, a *title* exchangeable at will against any commodities offered on the market. It is not itself wealth and it is not a commodity. In the same way, a theater ticket is not a play, though the circulation of tickets is essential to maintaining Broadway drama.

2. To supply the economy with money, and to regulate that supply,

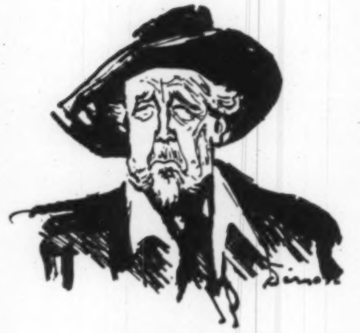
is the prerogative and obligation of the state. "Sovereignty inheres in the power to issue money, and to determine the value thereof." Hence Section 8 Clause 5 of the U.S. Constitution. And whoever issues money, whether he has a right to do so or not, possesses *de facto* sovereignty.

But 3. it is no longer clear who issues it; since the key discovery of modern banking, which may conveniently be dated from the foundation of the Bank of England in 1694, is that the Bank, which lends its own promissory notes, in effect creates money by the act of lending what it does not have. ("The bank," ran the 1694 manifesto, "hath benefit of the interest of all moneys which it creates out of nothing.")

Hence 4) during the past 250 years the real struggle for sovereignty, back behind the events in the history books, has occurred between the government *de jure* and that government *de facto* which had assumed control of the issue of money. The Revolution itself was a phase in this war, and the most telling passage in American history was the struggle over the charter of the Bank of the United States during the Jackson-Van Buren administrations, documented in Van Buren's *Autobiography* and Senator Benton's *Thirty Years' View*. It is a commonplace that the Rothschilds destroyed Napoleon.

5. A coin is not a unit but a fraction of a larger unit called "the volume of money." Equity would establish some rational if intricate relation between the volume of money and the supply of goods that are needed and wanted. "Finance," however, finds it expedient to make the volume of money expand and contract without reference to public need. "The Catholic economy had proclaimed the doctrine of the just price. Monopoly is a maneuver against the just price. One can speculate only on condition of market oscillation."

6. To say that sovereignty inheres in the power to issue money and to determine the value thereof is to say that the state's prime function is to make purchasing power available in responsibly regulated amounts. Instead it is made available not by the state but by men who charge for its use. When this charge is not construable as a share of real wealth produced or to be produced as a result of the issue of money, it is called *usury*. It is comparable to ticket scalping, which inflates the playgoer's expenses without feeding the actors any better, and which depends, like usury, on an artificial scarcity. We pay rent to the usurer for money because there is no other source of supply. Canon law distinguished productive and unproductive loans in this way, and Dante placed the usurers "in the same circle of hell as the sodomites, both acting against the potential abundance of nature." This sensibility has been lost, and its loss has been accompanied by a blunting of moral and aesthetic perception in all departments of human activity.



Ezra Pound

7. Having abandoned their prime responsibility, governments, to our distraction, seek other functions to keep them busy.

8. When the production and distribution of goods becomes a mere by-product of what is called "finance," the economic life of a nation is dominated by the production of *debts*. In 1834-5 Andrew Jackson succeeded in eliminating the national debt completely, and "in 1836 the National Treasury, having an active balance, distributed this money to the different states." Twenty years before that, the interest on the national debt had amounted to more than $7 million. Today the tendency of most economic activity is not to retire debts, national and private, but to extend them. And the purpose of wars, Pound concludes, is to create debts.

Having put this into tabular form we can see why Pound has carefully avoided so doing; it grows so much more pat than the facts. Pound's own means of presentation, constantly circulating from one fact or angle of view to another, is more enlightening. That is because his aim is to to install his reader, with open eyes, inside a complex economic, social and cultural reality, not to hang before his eyes a symmetrical myth.

So his method is to get one idea at a time into focus: defining a slave as "one who waits for someone else to free him," or ask "what percentage of American college presidents owe their advancement to complacency?", or observing with perfect accuracy that unless a textbook contains "the low-down" on its subject, then its purpose is to keep the student from learning too much. His present editor, having thoroughly grasped the method, has excised the dead sentences of yesterday's journalism, burnt away the symptoms of temporary irritation, and otherwise streamlined a very large number of essays, some of them represented by one salvaged sentence, but he has shunned the temptation to import a quite inappropriate orderliness.

Poets and Economics

And he has included, as a sort of linchpin, a remarkable "forgotten" essay of 1937 on the Jefferson-Adams letters, in which we find Pound speculating on the extent to which the Encyclopaedists' kind of order (having "only the Alphabet for a filing system") may have foredoomed the culture shared by these two great Presidents to the thinning out that in fact set in after their deaths. Dante, he notes, expressed "a Mediterranean state of mind" characterized by "a sense of gradations: things neither perfect nor utterly wrong, but arranged in a cosmos, an order, stratified, having relations one with another." The civilization of the Encyclopaedists (out of which America came) had assumed instead that you could not perceive gradations; you could only file under convenient headings what were utterly heteroclite phenomena.

> The idea and/or habit of gradations of value, and the infinitely more vital custom of digging down into principles, gradually fade out. The degrees of light and motion, the whole metaphoric richness, began to perish. From a musical concept of man they dwindle down to a mathematical concept. . . . The whole of [Chesterton's] life was a protest against this impoverishment.

It is this impoverishment, guarding the tidiness of its files, that advises poets to leave economics alone, and confines the scope of economics or history to what is contained in an orthodox curriculum.

Pound observed in 1935 that "the idea of an American university being a live and active component in the intellectual life of America is taboo." There is no better illustration of this statement than the total absence of any commentary on, let alone refutation of, the fiscal notions he has been propagating for thirty years. It is thought sufficient to smile because the man who translated *The Seafarer* chose to interest himself in Treasury gold purchases; and if the smile is insufficient, to invoke, without explication, the displeasure of "experts." But experts cannot reassure us. It is insufficiently demonstrated that economic orthodoxy at the present time can claim any greater correspondence with the real than could the very highly developed Ptolemaic astronomy of 1534. One need not commit oneself to Pound in making this claim; one has only to look around.

Three sentences Pound published twenty-five years ago in a Social Credit journal define a content for responsible thought in supplying the arts themselves with a responsible function: "A work of art, any serious work vivifies a man's total perception of relations.

"It makes no difference whether the work is a Bach fugue or a drawing by Dürer or the movement of words in the Odyssey.

"Naturally the bastards who do not want truth, who do not want a democratization of the perception of relations, howl and weep whenever poetry emerges from the lavender sachet and bric-a-brac category."

Pound has spent three or four vain decades trying to rouse the *litterati* out of their preference for sachets. In recent years he has virtually given up talking to them. *Impact* now stands as a challenge to some serious student or students of the public weal, capable of sustained and extended curiosity about the matters it rotates before his attention. Its author could be wholly wrong in every one of his positions without altering the truth of the statement that if there are not a hundred such students the West is doomed.

What's Wrong in Libel

A distinguished lawyer comments on America's confused and confusing libel laws in the second of NR's leisurely series on the subject.

C. DICKERMAN WILLIAMS

Mr. Alistair Horne has described (NR, July 18, 1959) the cheerful mood of Englishmen who have been unfairly attacked in print. These victims tend to bring suit and win handsome verdicts.

Libel actions are indeed familiar to the English legal scene. The London *Times* carries daily a "Law Reports" section devoted to current court trials. Almost always a libel action is under way; once last fall four were going on at the same time. Frequently these trials involve well-known public figures. The libel suit recently won by General Anders delved deeply into World War II politics at the highest level. Randolph Churchill has twice in the last few years brought suit to vindicate his name. Mr. Horne's article mentioned other recent libel plaintiffs who were people of distinction. Apparently the London courts constitute a satisfactory and accepted forum for the resolution of those factual controversies which a free press undoubtedly produces.

It is hardly necessary to point out that no comparable statements could be made about the course of justice in the United States. I have practiced law for over thirty-five years and have a reasonably good memory; yet I can recall only one or two instances in which victims of libel have recovered proper compensation. Libel trials are rarely reported in the press. An authority on the subject has said that the "percentage of instances of defamation" in which suit is brought is "infinitesimal" and that only about one-half of one per cent of these suits are actually brought to trial.

On the contrary, what comes to mind are instances in which libel procedures have been used to harass people for whom I sympathize.

A few years ago the impoverished, staunchly anti-Communist magazine the *New Leader* made some remarks about the pro-Communist leanings of Alvarez Del Vayo, then foreign editor of the *Nation*. These remarks were considerably milder than articles published by the *New York Times* in which Del Vayo was described as a Soviet spy. The *Nation* which had made no fuss, in the courts at least, about the *Times*, promptly pounced on the *New Leader* with a libel action. The *New Leader* was forced to apply money, time and effort that it could ill afford to the defense of the case. Eventually—after the *Nation's* lawyer had been convicted of obstructing justice in connection with the government's investigation of the Matusow recantations—the case was settled by an innocuous joint statement.

A Connecticut housewife criticized a local group for engaging two performers with Communist front associations. The performers sued; the jury disagreed and the performers never won a verdict, but the legal costs exhausted the savings of the woman and her husband.

What causes this state of affairs? The principles of libel law seem fair enough.

Any publication which tends to hold a person up to public shame, contempt and ridicule is libelous *per se*. ("*Per se*" in this context means that it is not necessary for the complainant to prove particular, or "special" damage, such as the loss of employment, patronage, etc.). Of course, the question what constitutes "public shame, contempt and ridicule" permits infinite argument but the general principle is clear. Accusations of crime and dishonesty are libelous. Among the particular characterizations which have been held libelous are "crook," "rascal," "liar," and "shyster" (of a lawyer). To charge professional incompetency is libelous. Falsely to allege facts tending to show dishonesty or immorality is libel.

A libel plaintiff, on trial, has an unusual advantage: once having proved the publication of the offending paper, he is relieved of the burden of proof as to its falsity. The burden shifts to the defendant to justify his defamatory assertions. The ordinary plaintiff has the burden of proof as to all features of his case.

The publisher, sued for libel, may always show truth in defense. (Truth was not a defense at English common law but legislative enactments of the last one hundred fifty years have changed the rule.) Fortunately for him, the publisher has a good many other defenses, too:

Privilege. A fair account of legislative, judicial or administrative procedings is "privileged"—that is to say, cannot be made the basis of a libel claim. This doctrine became familiar to the public during the more active period of congressional investigation of Communist infiltrations.

Fair comment. Provided a defendant can show that the facts he has published are correct, he is allowed almost unlimited freedom in his characterizations of them. For instance: a newspaper in substance called a congressman a traitor because in 1941 before Pearl Harbor he had voted against bills proposed by President Roosevelt in connection with World War II. This language was held to be fair comment because the editorial made clear that its characterization was based on *facts* concededly true, *i.e.*, the congressman's opposition to these bills.

Good faith. The publisher may show, at least in mitigation of damages, that he had reason to believe what he printed. The courts tend to be liberal in the admission of such evidence; it may be newspaper clippings, statements by police officers, etc. Thus a distinguished judge, later a member of the United States Supreme Court, once charged a jury that it was "a matter to be considered" respecting damages that the defendant newspaper "found in a responsible sheet, published in the vicinity, this item of news"—that the plaintiff had had incestuous relations with her brother.

Credibility. To show that the plaintiff is unworthy of belief, he may be subjected to a severe cross-examination concerning real or alleged misbehavior throughout his life. The latitude of such cross-examination is largely within what the courts call the discretion of the trial judge. In this context "idiosyncrasies" would perhaps be a more realistic word than "discretion." This feature of cross-examination may be used against any plaintiff, indeed, against any witness. A well-known literary illustration is the cross-examination of John Barsad, prosecution witness at the trial of Charles Darnay in *A Tale of Two Cities*, showing him to be without means of support. Such cross-examinations of the plaintiff are particularly effective at libel trials because not only the plaintiff's veracity but also his reputation are in issue.

Reputation. To show that the plaintiff's reputation wasn't worth much anyway, the defendant may in mitigation of damages introduce evidence that the plaintiff was not well regarded by his fellow men. This doctrine was largely developed in suits brought by women for adverse comments on their chastity—in former times a fertile field of litigation.

When the plaintiff persists in going to trial, the American press, unlike the *Times* of London, rarely reports the case. This policy is intended to avoid the suggestion of evil thoughts (suing newspapers) to others. Moreover, when sued, American publishers tend to hit back harder than those in England; the big newspapers and magazines definitely do. Among other things, it is customary to make a thorough investigation of the plaintiff so as to take full advantage of all defenses.

As the general principles of libel law are much the same in the United States it is probably these factors which account for the difference in public consciousness and use of libel law in the United States as compared with England.

Nevertheless this article would mislead if it conveyed the impression that in the United States libel law can be more or less disregarded. American publishers are well aware of it. A sufficient number of suits is brought to keep them on the alert. As the foregoing discussion shows, the defense of such suits can cover so much ground that, if the plaintiff chooses to press his suit, the investigation and legal costs can be most burdensome. Fortunately for publishers, most plaintiffs, after bringing suit, calm down rather than expose themselves to the rigors and expense of a trial.

Peace Corps Cheer

Boop boop dittum-dattum, wattum, choo!
We've joined Sargent Shriver's crew.
Don't know why, but we're on our way
For Jackie and Bobby and FK.
Gonna go to Ghana and Guinea, too;
Thailand, Swaziland, Timbuktu.
Gonna bring peace to the great unwashed;
Gonna make sure those Reds are quashed.
We're just kids, but we're on the make
To give this world an honest shake.
Boomalacka, boomalacka, watch our dust!
We're bringin' peace to the bush, or bust!

W. H. VON DREELE

THE IVORY TOWER

WM. F. BUCKLEY, JR.

YAF Night at Manhattan Center

My friend sitting beside me passed his eyes over the program as the band played, the overflow crowd stirred, the police struggled to keep the mob outdoors. He began to chuckle, and before long his merriment was uncontrolled. I finally quieted him. "What is it?"—I was laughing too; his mirth was contagious. "It's the sheer *impudence* of it all!" he grinned, tears rolling down his cheeks. "Chiang Kai-shek . . . Taylor Caldwell . . . the House Committee on Un-American Activities . . . George Sokolsky . . . Herbert Kohler . . . NATIONAL REVIEW . . . Barry Goldwater . . . *and*—in case anyone misses the point—to give the benediction, *Father Halton!*" He was off again. "Virtually the entire contemporary demonology of Liberalism. Every one of them, right here. And not to be burned at the stake, but to receive awards! And by whom? The American Legion? No—by *college students!*"

It *was* incredible. And looked at from one point of view, terribly funny. Here we are, well into the last half of the century, the overwhelming majority of our professors Stakhanovites in the cause of Liberalism. Three decades of intensive indoctrination in state welfarism, anti-anti-Communism, moral libertinage, skepticism, anti-Americanism. And here was foregathered, at the Manhattan Center in New York City, possibly the largest student assembly of the year, certainly the most enthusiastic, to pay tribute, one after the other, to the most conspicuous symbols of everything they have studiously been taught by the intelligentsia to look down upon with contempt. It was as though the student body of the Lenin Institute took time off in the middle of the semester to pay tribute to the memory of the Czar.

Five thousand persons were turned away. The vast auditorium, larger than Carnegie Hall, was jammed with excited people, mostly under thirty years of age. The press was there in force. The professionalism of the physical arrangements was impressive. The hall was bedecked in color. Students from neighboring universities bore placards designating the college they represented. Large poster-pictures of Goldwater bobbed up and down, giving the floor the air of a convention hall. The student band was first-rate. Flyers announcing the meeting were exuberantly laid out. The programs were well-printed. The tickets were in three colors—everything was done expressively, and well.

I am not suggesting that such an affair can put itself together, or even that the officers of Young Americans for Freedom, for all their energy and intelligence, could have put on such a show unaided. The guiding hand was Marvin Liebman's, a young(ish) man who has emerged in recent months as principal impresario and coordinator of successful conservative and anti-Communist organizations and demonstrations. (It was he who organized the anti-Khrushchev demonstrations in 1959, who serves as executive secretary of the Committee of One Million Against the Recognition of Red China, who conceived the NATIONAL REVIEW Fifth Anniversary Dinner, last year's tribute to Alfred Kohlberg, etc.) Let those who think they can put together such a meeting as was held by the YAFs in New York the other night not try to do it without expert aid. It is a sign of the maturity of the directors of YAF that they know they need such help.

George Sokolsky, awarded the prize for journalism, spoke movingly in his two-minute speech of acceptance. There is history to be made by American youth devoted to conservative principles, he said; and he was certain, as of that moment, that it would be made. The future is ours—the faraway future, after we outgrow the superstitions of socialism. It is the job of youth, he concluded, to turn the clock forward. Senator Goldwater laid it on the line: it is time for political action. The time has come when we can hope for political success. Forget the White House for a while, he said, and concentrate on the Congress, whose composition is more conservative today than a year ago. Aim for 1962. "Senator Barry Goldwater," the page-one story in the *New York Times* began the next day, "told a cheering stomping audience last night that the country was caught up in a wave of conservatism that could easily become 'the political phenomenon of our time.' "

First Annual Awards

YOUNG AMERICANS FOR FREEDOM

March 3, 1961

Education—Prof. Russell Kirk
International Affairs—The Republic of China, represented by UN Ambassador George K. C. Yeh
Youth Leadership—James Abstine, State Chairman, Indiana College Young Republicans
Writing—Miss Taylor Caldwell
Government—House Committee on Un-American Activities, represented by Rep. Morgan Moulder, Democrat of Missouri
Publishing—Eugene C. Pulliam, Publisher, Pulliam Newspapers
Public Affairs—McGraw-Edison Co., represented by Paul J. Christiansen
Science—Hon. Lewis L. Strauss
Journalism—George E. Sokolsky
Business—Herbert V. Kohler, President, The Kohler Co.
National Affairs—National Review Magazine, represented by William F. Buckley Jr., editor

Special Report

What About the Peace Corps?

DAVID FRANKE

The impression is that all American youth have greeted with undiluted enthusiasm the formation of the so-called "Peace Corps." Mr. David Franke, 23, an editorial assistant at NATIONAL REVIEW, *has founded the Youth for an Effective Peace Corps. We publish herewith a sober analysis of the idea that seems to be taking the country by storm.*—ED.

President Kennedy's proposal for a national "Peace Corps" is thus far a very clever political move. It is immensely popular among young people, and in the two weeks since its creation by executive order, nearly 15,000 letters have flooded the offices of the Corps, most of them from volunteers. Conservatives who are, by and large, suspicious of any government foreign-aid plan, find it hard to muster an effective opposition to a program which appeals so successfully to the deep-rooted idealism of the nation's youth.

It is important, then, to make several distinctions: the basic idea behind the Peace Corps is good, as are the motives of most of those responding to the President's call. The intrinsic worth of an idea or a motive may be annulled, however, either by placing a good program in the wrong hands or by proceeding with too great haste.

We are told that the Peace Corps will serve humanitarian purposes only. "It is important," says Sargent Shriver, its director, "that the Peace Corps be advanced not as an arm of the Cold War but as a contribution to the world community." The *New York Herald Tribune* warns that "the pathological suspicion which many of the new states harbor about any American venture abroad will have to be overcome, and overcome not by anti-Communist proselytizing but by patient example and endurance." The young Americans are to be kept busy teaching, fighting malaria, working in agricultural projects and rural development programs, assisting in construction and industrial projects, and working in government administration, including urban development. If this is the purpose, the Peace Corps might better be kept out of the hands of government altogether.

How is it that a hastily-organized government program with only 500 recruits as a starter but endowed with the magic name "Peace Corps," gets such fantastic press coverage, while the work of dozens of private programs goes largely unapplauded? Who knows how many of these lay movements exist, how many thousands they send abroad, how many opportunities they offer to young people?

The Peace Corps is also being injured by the haste in which it has been planned, as can be readily seen by a visit to its headquarters. The executive order issued by Mr. Kennedy merely creates a Peace Corps, says it shall be headed by a Director, and shall be financed (until the Congress passes enabling legislation) through funds available through the Mutual Security Act of 1954.

Legal Protection

When I asked a Peace Corps volunteer what legal protection corpsmen would have in foreign countries, I received a blank stare. They hadn't begun to think of that, and indeed, I felt guilty for suggesting that these idealistic youths might possibly get into trouble. But do these volunteers really know what they are getting into? Military personnel are protected by the Uniform Code of Military Justice, and diplomatic personnel have their diplomatic immunity, but the Peace corpsman had better brush up on the local tribal law before he takes off.

Despite objections to the Peace Corps as presently envisaged, a Peace Corps which took into account a realistic view of the world situation could be of great value. Such a Corps would be founded on the realization that what the "underdeveloped" countries need is capital and tools, not fresh-out-of-college youths ready to take their place in the fields alongside their native brothers; and that the real value of the youths would be in the propaganda war.

Such a Peace Corps would be based on the realization that we are in a state of war, not of peace; that our young people abroad will be face-to-face with Communist agents, trained for years in the schools of Moscow, Leningrad and Prague in the art of revolution. Such a Corps would require, of necessity, a more complete and vigorous training than presently planned, and it would call for the highest idealism.

There should be training in the language, literature, history and traditions of the country in which the corpsman is to serve, preferably taught by natives of that country. This should be accompanied by an intensive study of American history. Students would study Marxist texts, be familiar with the Communist interpretation of American history, and —most important—know how to rebut these interpretations. They should be steeped in Communist strategy and tactics in general.

Secondly, Peace Corps applicants must be thoroughly screened and an effective code of loyalty and discipline required. The present Corps is made to order for infiltration by Communists and leftists and it is important to note that it will be impossible to keep the Peace Corps out of the ideological and power struggle, as its present advocates hope, simply because we cannot pick our own battlefields. Young men and women sent abroad will be unable to avoid attacks by the Communists they will meet there, and since they will be called "spies" under any circumstances, it is to our advantage that they *be* agents in fact.

A Peace Corps thus trained is the only Peace Corps worth the effort. A toughening of the Corps would undoubtedly thin the ranks of the present applicants, but there are other youths—more, perhaps, than the President realizes—who are willing to dedicate themselves to the most important task facing our country—the destruction of the Communist conspiracy.

Policy for Victory

FRANK S. MEYER

It is a curious paradox that during the past few years, as American strategic policy has blundered and stumbled its way from one defeat to another, American strategic literature has developed steadily and remarkably in depth and sophistication. No doubt it is true that the brute majority of the books in the field reflect, to a greater or less degree, the utopianism of SANE or wishful thinking about Communism and/or the UN. But a truly impressive corpus of serious and solid discussion of the problem of national survival in the realistic conditions of the war with Communism has been produced.

Now three extremely important new contributions to this discussion have appeared. Two of them—*The Necessity for Choice,* by Henry A. Kissinger and *A Forward Strategy for America,* by Robert Strausz-Hupé, William R. Kintner and Stefan T. Possony—are in the nature of continuations of previous books. *The Necessity for Choice* follows *Nuclear Weapons and Foreign Policy,* and *A Forward Strategy* is a continuation of *Protracted Conflict.* The third book, *On Thermonuclear War,* is the work of Herman Kahn, who, although he has hitherto published no major work, has for long had a wide reputation as a stimulating unconventional expert on the technology of modern warfare—one of the ornaments of RAND.

Were the struggle with Communism a matter simply of the strategic handling of thermonuclear weapons systems, their development, their use, and defense against them, Kahn's book (the distillation of briefing lectures he has been giving over several years through the country) might well be the decisive breakthrough to an understanding of our problems. He has the virtue of dealing with the facts of thermonuclear warfare head-on, without blinking. He refuses to close his mind to it as "unthinkable." He insists that with all its horror, an all-out thermonuclear war could be won by one side or the other, and he analyzes the ways in which it could be won, primarily emphasizing the need for invulnerability of our striking force and for measures of active and passive defense.

A Forward Strategy for America, by Robert Strausz-Hupé, William R. Kintner and Stefan T. Possony. Harper, $5.95
The Necessity for Choice, by Henry A. Kissinger. Harper, $5.50
On Thermonuclear War, by Herman Kahn. Princeton, $10.00

The weakness of *On Thermonuclear War,* however, is its abstract character, its consideration of the technical strategical problem of the decisive weaponry of our time in almost complete isolation from the political and historical situation in which we live. It would be only a slight exaggeration to say that in this book any great power X could be substituted for the concrete Soviet enemy, and any great power Y substituted for the United States, without requiring serious emendation of the text.

The multifarious levels of the Communist attack upon the West, the peculiar strengths and weaknesses of American society, the aims and ends of our struggle as they operatively affect our actions—all these are missing from the world in which Herman Kahn's mind moves back and forth over the data like a flashing computer endowed with an adventurous imagination. No one who is concerned with victory over Communism can afford to neglect this book; but anyone who reads it without constant consciousness of the restrictions of its purview and the resulting distortion of understanding, will do so at his peril.

THE TENDENCY to isolate one set of factors in a complicated situation and elevate it to a level of such decisive importance that nothing else is really taken seriously, is congenital under the intellectual and social circumstances that prevail in America today. "As a nation of specialists," Henry Kissinger writes in *The Necessity for Choice,* "we like to believe that a problem is either political, or spiritual, or economic, or military. And we are tempted to assume that among all our challenges we must concentrate on one to the exclusion of the others. . . . But the times do not permit such an order of priorities."

Both his book and *A Forward Strategy* are devoted to presenting the problem of national survival and victory over Communism without dodging its complexity or underestimating the magnitude of our task. Both show deep understanding of the nature of Communism and the multilevel character of the Communist offensive against the West. Both propose a flexible and many-sided strategy for the United States, based upon a firm belief that we have the resources and the capabilities for victory if we will employ them effectively.

Although these two books represent different styles of thought, approaching the same problems in a very different manner, their conclusions are so similar on all major questions that it would be both invidious and uninstructive to contrast them. On all essentials they are in agreement: on the necessity of an invulnerable nuclear striking force and of active and passive defense (on these two points their position coincides with Kahn's); of powerful and mobile forces for limited wars on the periphery (here Kissinger stresses conventional arms to a greater degree than the authors of *A Forward Strategy,* though both agree on the desirability of arming our allies with nuclear weapons); of a realistic attitude, based on understanding of Communism, towards all negotiations with the Soviet Union; of considering all questions of arms control from the point of view of our safety and security; of establishing methods for the evaluation of policy and the implementation of decisions which take hard account of the sober truth that we are *de facto* engaged in a war with Communism, not in a popularity contest in the United Nations.

Towards the end of *A Forward Strategy* a few principles are succinctly stated, which I judge to express the thesis of Dr. Kissinger's book as well, and which I think are vital foundations of any effective American strategy:

1. *"The priority objective of any American grand strategy is, by a broad margin, the preservation and enhancement of our political system rather than the maintenance of peace."*
2. *"Our philosophy of international relations must be based on the self-evident axiom that Utopias are, by definition, unattainable."*
3. *"The fundamental decision before us is whether we should accept the communist concept of coexistence in one form or the other or bring about the final defeat of communism. . . . Shorn of all ideological connotations, our policy must be based upon the premise that we cannot tolerate the survival of a political system which has both the growing capability and the ruthless will to destroy us. We have no choice but to accept a Catonic strategy."*

The evocation of Cato is precisely right in our situation. For us, as it was for Rome, the issue is our destruction or the destruction of the enemy. We are lost, in the profoundest sense of that word, if we accept any policy, any strategy, which does not have at its foundation Cato's will to victory.

But the name of Cato evokes another aspect of his policy, one which throws into relief the only major criticism I would make of *The Necessity for Choice* and *A Forward Strategy for America.* Cato was not only the man who ended his every speech to the senate, *Delenda est Carthago;* he was also the man who fought with every ounce of his being to recover and revitalize the ancient traditions and institutions of Rome. It seems to me that the single serious weakness of these two books is their too great reliance upon government, too little recognition that the genius of America lies in the free action of free individuals. They understand the desperate challenge of our war with Communism, and they stress that it may require a long and protracted endeavor; but I think they are not sufficiently aware of the dangers to our free society that such a protracted conflict may bring with it, that they are not sufficiently exercised to find ways of waging that conflict without endangering that for which it is being waged.

This is the one weakness in all the best discussions of policy and strategy: the unwillingness to realize that to fight against Communism while we distort our own society toward statism is not only a degradation of what we are fighting for, but also weakens us immeasurably by ignoring our unique strength—our freedom, the initiative of free persons and free institutions, intellectual, social and economic. Add that understanding to the policy outlined in *The Necessity for Choice* and *A Forward Strategy,* and we will be invincible.

Marks of Identity

JOAN DIDION

A Burnt-Out Case, by Graham Greene. Viking, $3 95

Among the boys in the back of the book, an admiration for Graham Greene has become ever so slightly *infra dig.* The smart money has leaked the word: Greene is "a master craftsman" who manages to turn out "well-tooled" novels despite his regrettable dialectical deficiencies. (Just as Scott Fitzgerald, not so very long ago, was a master craftsman who managed to turn out well-tooled novels despite his regrettable inability to come to grips with the Tennessee Valley Authority.)

What makes the boys regretful is not simply their belated ruling that Greene is not after all a "great Catholic novelist" (a notion no less absurd than that of a "great Low Episcopal novelist," or of a "great Trotskyist novelist"); it is their uneasy suspicion that he never intended to be. One can name dozens of novels indelibly informed by Christianity—*Sanctuary,* for one. But where *Sanctuary* is about redemption, *Brighton Rock* and *The Heart of the Matter* are about human concern with redemption: another game entirely. Christianity is part of the *donnée* in a Greene novel; like heat on the west coast of Africa or V-1 raids in London, belief or the lack of it colors a decision, moves a scene, effects the dénouement, emerges as nothing more or less than one of the facts of the matter. There is simply a Cross on the landscape, and its apparently gratuitous appearance disappoints all those who have bought their tickets under a misapprehension that a miracle play is on the bill. *Well-made,* they murmur, distinctly cheated but still game.

At his best, and his best is certainly *Brighton Rock,* Greene is a brilliant novelist precisely because he makes things so well, because he generates the kind of structural excitement that Flaubert gave to fiction, because he has an instinct for the novel that includes a certain sense of what people remember and how they dissemble and how they give themselves away. Like Parkis, the improbable eye in *The End of the Affair,* Greene takes an avid interest in what Sarah Miles and her love ordered for lunch. They had pork chops; as Parkis explains, "They might be marks of identification, sir, if frequently indulged in." Greene knows all the marks of identity, knows for example that what Helen Holt in *The Heart of the Matter* thinks or does not think about the borrowed furniture in her Nissen hut tells more about Helen Holt than anything she or her passport could possibly say. (It is the kind assigned to junior officials; one imagines it—perhaps wrongly—to be rattan, with the faded, featureless, indelible look of rented summer cottages.) When Greene is good, he is very, very good, exhibiting the same sure feeling for fiction that Scott Fitzgerald sometimes exhibited (think of Tom and Daisy Buchanan eating that cold chicken in *Gatsby*, think of Pinkie and Rose on their wedding day in *Brighton Rock*); when a Greene novel is good, everything works.

In his new novel, *A Burnt-Out Case*, what happens is this: Querry, a celebrated Catholic architect in his late fifties and wearing a crumpled tropical suit, arrives one day at a *léproserie* far up a tributary of the Congo. ("The boat goes no further," he explains.) Although Querry wants nothing but to be left alone, he is recognized before long by a planter who had seen his face years before on the cover of *Time*. He becomes an object of speculation: a young priest insists that he is "walking in the footsteps of St. John of the Cross, the *noche oscura*"; the planter Rycker tries to engage him in discussions of Christian marriage; a British Pete Martin comes out determined to file a Schweitzer story. ("Near the spot where Stanley once pitched his camp among the savage tribes, I at last came upon Querry. . . . Next Sunday. A Saint's Past. Redemption by Suffering.") Although what we have so far is more or less a free improvisation on Axel Heyst, the plot does thicken eventually. Rycker's child-wife sees in Querry a way out of the bush and back to her convent childhood; she names Querry the father of her unborn child and Rycker shoots him.

Now there is something wrong in all of this: it does not quite work. Everyone has known a man like Querry, incapable of love or want, spoiled, suffering only from his inability to suffer. Querry's aridity is the central fact of *A Burnt-Out Case*, but even Greene seems too bored by him to bother about making him work. His history has the never-never quality of clippings in a newspaper morgue; the landmarks on his map are all literary—a *Time* cover, a woman who committed suicide, another who is better off without him because "there are always the times of day when one ceases to pretend," a flight to Africa because the next plane out was headed there, arrival at a *léproserie* because "the boat goes no further."

Although the real story is apt to be a good deal messier and a good deal more engaging, Greene never touches it; he instead takes Querry at his word, and Querry is far too articulate, far too self-conscious, to give himself away. One wants to catch him asleep, to talk to the stewardess on the plane out, even to read the *Time* cover on him: anything to see him as someone else does. The result is that *A Burnt-Out Case* is less a novel, less a piece of working fiction than notes toward it. What it lacks, oddly, is something that Greene knows all about: borrowed rattan furniture, pork chops, cold chicken.

To Delve a Yard Below

GARRY WILLS

THE TITLE of *Scientism and Values*, a symposium edited by Helmut Schoeck and James W. Higgins, is ominous. "Values" is one of those screen-words behind which, too often, the operations of undermining our civilization are carried on. It is a word which has been very useful for those who want to ignore the claims of less tractable terms. But all suspicions are allayed as one reads the book. When Eliseo Vivas uses the word "values," he means the object of human virtue. When W. T. Couch discusses values, he means reality. And the other contributors join this unembarrassed encounter with real problems, not running for methodological cover when the great mysteries of human life loom up before them.

***Scientism and Values*, edited by Helmut Schoeck and James W. Higgins. Van Nostrand, $6.50**

The normal procedure for such a project is that everyone must meet and pretend they do not know why they have met. If scientism is the subject proposed, they must show a complete unawareness of the meaning of the term, and then painfully move toward a definition, being careful never *quite* to arrive at it.

Instead of this, Mr. Schoeck introduces the subject with provocative clarity. Scientism, he tells us, is that isolation of measurable qualities into compartments which consists primarily in telling us what we are *not* to consider. Scientism is the elaborate methodology of not-knowing. That the clarity of this challenging statement was, in fact, provocative, the succeeding papers amply demonstrate. Remarkably free from cant, they carry on every page the inflections of men met to discuss the serious business of being men. Without aimless wandering, the differing treatments converge on the central failure of the scientistic schematizations to cope with reality.

If the modern world is, in a sense, "post-Christian," then scientism is post-post-Christian. With the failure of a common Christian faith, men turned more and more to "pure reason," to a humanistic belief in man and his knowledge. But reason itself is now reeling, and faith in man is as endangered as faith in God. At this point, the almost superhuman achievement of the physical sciences gave men a great reverence for various subhuman ways of "knowing." A Ruth Benedict with her notebooks chock-full of island customs, a de Chardin with his notebooks on fossils, become messianic figures, their word an any subject blindly accepted because they wear the mantle of "science," and science seems to be man's last hope for ordering his own mind and its external area of investigation.

The importance of this volume is

that it documents and demonstrates the fact that scientism's origin lies in this quest for a substitute faith. The reverence which is given to "method," and statistics, and abstract formulations of relations, indicates with what hysterical relief men hope that the endangered knowing processes have been rescued. But the rescue is only apparent, and the subsequent disillusion threatens to result in an even greater nihilism than did the loss of faith in God and man.

This great disillusionment may yet be avoided if more men can be engaged in the kind of discussion carried on in this volume. Here the pretensions of scientism are met on their own terms. Papers by Vivas, W. H. Werkeister, and others show that human assumptions are involved in the most vigorously circumscribed methodological activities. In line with this, Richard Weaver and Ludwig von Bertalannfy study the rhetoric of scientism, and others consider the historical forces at work in its growing acceptance. Analysis of this sort reveals that scientism is itself an unwitting form of humanism. By its very urgency and demand for human results from the most unpromising sources, it shows that man *can* come to grips with an outside reality in all its menace. Only when men have discovered philosophical problems, and intensely reacted against facing their precise challenge, do they try to escape the human dilemma by functioning as IBM machines. But if philosophical problems can be so acutely encountered, then they can be dealt with on their own terms by men who have experienced them in the total context of the human knowing process.

All but one of the papers I have not explicitly mentioned—papers by Robert Strausz-Hupé, Henry S. Kariel, James Wiggins, Pieter Geyl and Murray Rothbard—are as deeply involved in the important matters this symposium broached. Only one paper of narrow scope and anomalous tendency was bound into the book. If more minds can meet as these have, our social engineers may indeed be hoist with their own petards.

Books of Interest

To Kill a Mockingbird, **by Harper Lee** (Lippincott, $3.95). A Southern Novel *sans* mildew, found entrancing by some, as engaging as a dish of Junket by others.

Vanity Fair: A Cavalcade of the 1920s and 1930s, **edited by** Cleveland Amory and Frederic Bradlee (Viking, $10). A sampling from the pages of the magazine that reflected, between 1914 and 1936, most of what was lively and polished and brilliant on the American scene, most of the fun, all of the golden girls and boys.

The Gila Trail: The Texas Argonauts and the California Gold Rush, by Benjamin Butler Harris, edited by Richard H. Dillon (Oklahoma, $4). The account of a journey from Texas to California, on the Gila River route, in March of 1849, as well as of life in the Mother Lode during the 1850s.

Goodbye to a River, **by John** Graves (Knopf, $4.50). A record of a few rainy autumn weeks spent floating the Brazos, in West Texas, and thinking about Comanches, Texans, and, above all, the river.

Lord Derby: King of Lancashire, by Randolph S. Churchill, which was reviewed in NR (11/16/60) by Sir Shane Leslie, at the time of its English publication, has now been published in the United States by Putnam ($7.50).

Bibliography of Communism

Persuasion by Notation

ABE KALISH

With the passing years, the black records of Lenin, Stalin, the Communist slave labor camps, the mass purges, the Nazi-Stalin pact, the takeover of China and the satellites are due to become ever more blurred in men's memory, and so more subject to the special handling and interpretation of various writers. For that reason, as the number of books on Communism grows ever larger, the annotated bibliography will become increasingly important as a guide to the student.

Books on Communism, a bibliography edited by R. N. Carew Hunt (London, Ampersand, 1959) is described on its dustwrapper as "an annotated guide to the significant literature in this field which will be of the greatest value to librarians, research writers, students and to all who are concerned with the theory and practice of Communism." Since the book will doubtless soon be found on the reference shelves of most large public and university libraries, some of its characteristics, especially as they may affect a novice in the field, are important.

The book lists and comments on 1,500 items which cover the development of Communism in all the principal countries of the world. It is handily arranged by subject and country into 52 sections, the last two containing British and American government publications. For that reason it is most surprising to find that the 15-volume Hearings of the U.S. Senate Internal Security Subcommittee on the Institute of Pacific Relations has been omitted. One also looks in vain for such basic books as Manya Gordon's *Workers Before and After Lenin*, Boris Souvarine's *Stalin*, Ludwig von Mises' *Socialism*.

The bibliography contains many works on top Communists: Stalin, Mao, Foster, Browder, who are identified as such. There are also listed the works of many fellow travelers and persistent Communist apologists such as Konni Zilliacus, Corliss Lamont, Paul Sweezey. These are identified by such phrases as "known Marxist" or "Communist sympathizer." But the author fails to make similar identification regarding the work of many other writers. For

example, four books by Owen Lattimore are listed, including his *Ordeal by Slander* which is described as "Professor Lattimore's defense against the charge of Communism brought against him by Senator McCarthy." In none of the notations on Lattimore's works, nor in the other listed books for which he wrote introductions, is there any hint that a full Committee of the U.S. Senate after lengthy hearings found unanimously that Lattimore had been "for some time beginning in the 1930s a conscious, articulate instrument of the Soviet conspiracy." Anna Louise Strong has three books listed in this bibliography. In none of the notations are her long-standing pro-Communist sympathies indicated. One of the books is described as a "vivid, anecdotal account." Edgar Snow's *Random Notes on Red China* is "useful for the specialist."

The student trying to select books on China from Carew Hunt's list will learn that John Fairbank's *The United States and China* is "a lucid and readable analysis by a leading expert," and White and Jacoby's *Thunder Out of China* is a "well-written account." On the other hand, he will read that Freda Utley's *China Story* is a "classic presentation of the tendentious thesis that the victory of the Chinese Communists is to be attributed to the fact that United States aid to Chiang Kai-shek was too little and too late, this being due to the influence exerted by American Communists, fellow travelers and other ill-disposed persons upon the Department of State." Lin Yu-t'ang's *Vigil of a Nation* and Edward Hunter's *Black Book on Red China* are not listed.

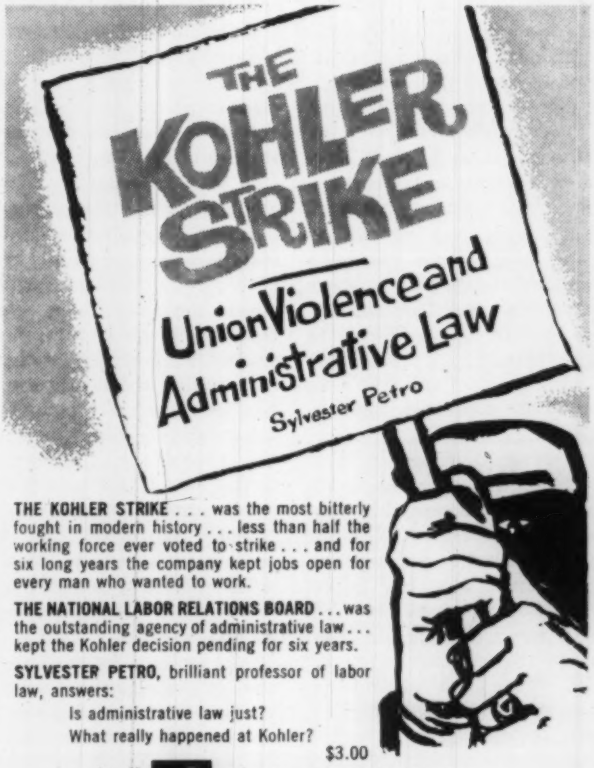
FURTHER, we read that Vera Micheles Dean's *Russia, Menace or Promise?* is a "useful, simple introduction" while her *United States and Russia* "contains in condensed form much useful information." Frederick L. Schuman's *Russia Since 1917* is described as "a stimulating book by an expert on the Russian question. . . . The author attempts to distribute blame for world tension equally between the two parties." We are also told that Edward Crankshaw's *Russia and the Russians* is "an objective attempt." Crankshaw's *Russia by Daylight* "throws a good deal of light." His *Russia Without Stalin* is "a lively and penetrating book."

The above quotations which tend to encourage people to read the books are in sharp contrast with the tone of the notations used almost exclusively for books which are anti-Communist. Leopold Schwarzschild's *Red Prussian*, for example, "contains some new material [hitherto unpublished Marx-Engels correspondence!] but should be read with caution on account of his unduly polemical nature." Hal Lehrman's *Russia's Europe* "is a somewhat superficial and emotionally overcharged story." Jacob Spolansky's *Communist Trial in America* is "too sensational and not always accurate." Guenther Reinhardt's *Crime Without Punishment* is "a controversial report."

A similar pattern is discernible in the books on Yugoslavia. Fitzroy H. Maclean's *Disputed Barricade* is described as a "serious and on the whole well-documented work, excellent for the war years." P. D. Ostovic's *The Truth about Yugoslavia* is a "useful survey." Louis Adamic's *The Eagle and the Roots* is an "excellent picture." On the other hand, Slobodan N. Draskovich's *Tito, Moscow's Trojan Horse* is a "long, bitter and repetitive book." Konstantin Fotic's *War We Lost: Yugoslavia's Tragedy* and David Martin's *Ally Betrayed* are not listed in this bibliography.

Alger Hiss' *In the Court of Public Opinion* appears in the bibliography with the note that here the author "again pleads his innocence of involvement with Communist espionage." Also listed are Alastair [*sic*] Cooke's *A Generation on Trial: U.S.A. vs. Alger Hiss* and Alan Barth's *The Loyalty of Free Men*. Not listed are Ralph de Toledano's *Seeds of Treason* and his *Spies, Dupes and Diplomats*, Buckley and Bozell's *McCarthy and His Enemies*, and Sidney Hook's *Heresy, Yes—Conspiracy, No.*

What might be the over-all effect



THE KOHLER STRIKE . . . was the most bitterly fought in modern history . . . less than half the working force ever voted to strike . . . and for six long years the company kept jobs open for every man who wanted to work.

THE NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS BOARD . . . was the outstanding agency of administrative law . . . kept the Kohler decision pending for six years.

SYLVESTER PETRO, brilliant professor of labor law, answers:

Is administrative law just?
What really happened at Kohler?

$3.00

At all bookstores Henry REGNERY Company
CHICAGO 4, ILLINOIS

of this bibliography on a student trying to decide what book to read in order to obtain answers to questions about Communism? On the one hand, the student will come across many items by Communists as well as by pro-Communists, only some of whom, however, are identified as such. On the other hand, many anti-Communist books are damned with faint praise, or worse; others are omitted. Thus there is a better than even chance that the novice looking for a book will select one written by a Communist or one which will in effect state that the Communists and the West are equally to blame for present conditions and that a willingness to give and take, to compromise, is the best way to handle the Communist threat, which might not really be a threat after all.

Records

The Perennial Ella

RALPH DE TOLEDANO

In the brash heyday of Harlem's old Savoy Ballroom, a little hunchback sat at the drums high over his orchestra. Chick Webb's steady and compelling beat was a groundbass for the big band. In front of the band, a tall, gawky girl belted out the lyrics of those swing era songs. Chick Webb had discovered her, and a Tin Pan Alley version of "A-Tisket A-Tasket" brought her fame. Her name was Ella Fitzgerald.

In those prewar days, Ella was just a band singer, better than many, not as good as some. Her voice was fresh, her delivery was never stylized, and she knew when to stay on the beat and when to get off it. Her trademark was a simple exuberance, faintly tinged with melancholy. There was no pretension, no attempt to wow the audience. She was too young to have acquired the sardonic nuances of an Ivy Anderson and too honest to fake them. "What about Ella?" the jazz critics would ask. And the answer was always: "Well, she's no Bessie Smith, she's no Billie Holiday, but she's *good.*"

That was a long time ago, and Ella is still with us. The years have put flesh on that lanky frame and life has moderated the exuberance. With the passage of time, she grew as an artist: she learned what few in the business ever comprehend — that technique is not a ball bat but must be so perfect that no one knows it's there. Her range and control increased; she refined her phrasing; she discovered that the lyrics of a fine popular tune have as much validity as the melody. To her great credit, she never tried to develop a "style" —that is to say, an eccentricity of delivery. Neither the excessive tremolo or the glottal-stopping of the "swing" and "rock 'n' roll" singers was ever for her. Ella's way has always been to sing close to the melody, so that when she departs from it the effect is dramatic.

The critic Bill Simon has written of her graceful *portamento*, comparing it to Jascha Heifetz'. Any good jazz singer slides into the note instead of hitting it squarely. But this can become a mannerism, and it has been vulgarized by many singers. Ella's *portamento* is graceful because it is subtle, which Heifetz' is not. The demi-tone gradations of pitch in her singing are a joy to hear. So too is her use of dynamics. Like a great trumpet player, she gathers up each note and brings it to easy completion, cutting it off when it has reached the proper peak, whether that be full or *mezza voce.* But the greatest joy of all is in the variety and versatility of Ella Fitzgerald's singing. There is a dragging sameness to most of those who bring us our popular music; Ella Fitzgerald can run the gamut from the breathiness of an intimate song to the let-it-go-Sam of the more robust tunes.

Over the years, Ella has made enough recordings to fill a library—some better than others but none less than good. But I believe that her best singing has been done for the Verve label—alone or with that imperishable jazzman, Louis Armstrong. And of that best, the super-superlatives are her *Ella Fitzgerald Sings Cole Porter* and *Ella Fitzgerald Sings the Rodgers and Hart Song Book.* (She has also done a Gershwin collection, but the material seems to date.) These two-record albums are more than Ella in song; they are monuments to the men she celebrates. Here and there a tune has been done much better by others, but as compendia they are unrivaled.

For those of us who heard many of these songs when they were newly minted, there is a tremendous nostalgia in Ella Fitzgerald's evocations. But nostalgia is the special response of those who hear time's chariot at their heels.

For the critical ear, the objective factor in these albums is the wedding of the performer's simplicity and the varying sophistications of Cole Porter and Rodgers & Hart. Mr. Porter is a composer-lyricist who escaped the chi-chi of his cosmopolitan world through sheer talent. The Rodgers & Hart team injected wit and intellect into the musical comedy and helped raise it to a distinctive American art form. Both were, if this does not open me to charges of chauvinism, distinctly white, whereas in Ella's singing there is always that ambivalence of joy and pain which is the Negro contribution to American popular music. But what might have been a marriage of convenience becomes in effect a mating of true minds.

The woman who once stood a gangling girl before the Chick Webb band at the Savoy can sing with complete empathy the Rodgers & Hart "Isn't It Romantic" or "There's a Small Hotel," alien though they may be from the world of her roots, with simple loveliness. She can traverse the mocking "Bewitched" with a kind of placid irony. In the thirty-two Porter songs, she can move from "Always True to You in My Fashion," with its overtones of Ernest Dowson's "Cynara," to the boisterous "Anything Goes" and its running mate "I Get a Kick Out of You." By taking over the melodic subtleties of "Get Out of Town," she escapes the slightly bathetic tendency of the lyrics. She even gives sincerity to the somewhat shopworn "Night and Day."

What most amazes about these two albums is how well they wear, how you can listen to them right through without tiring. Billie Holiday was a greater artist who drew her water from a deeper well. But you can listen to Billie for just so long before the manner becomes oppressive. There is no tiring of Ella Fitzgerald. Perhaps that is her genius.

BOOKS IN BRIEF

The Dollar Diploma, by Georg Mann (Macmillan, $3.95). Georg Mann has written a deadly and witty novel about faculty life at Fox College. The principal events are a fund-raising drive, the visiting lectureship of a fellow-traveling French scholar (Simone de Beauvoir), and a visit to the campus by a congressional investigating committee. Mr. Mann's technique is that of the tall epigram, and he rolls off some that are hilariously funny. Others are stretched, some even beyond the breaking point; and he is fascinated by physical details ("Erikson's long upper lip raised itself over his flagrant dentures") of a kind that do not fascinate everyone. The provincialism and hypocrisy of big-shot academic centers he treats remorselessly, though one never feels he is dead on target, perhaps because the *dramatis personae* are mere embodiments of this foible, or that eccentricity. (Randall Jarrell, in *Pictures at an Institution*, also dealt in caricatures. But somehow they lived and breathed, whereas Mr. Mann's don't, really.) The execution of Simone de Beauvoir is neat and conclusive; the treatment of the visiting committee of Congress leans heavily on civil rights clichés which are as tedious as the academic clichés whose exposure is the point of this bitter-bright first novel. W. F. BUCKLEY JR.

George III, The Story of a Complex Man, by J. C. Long (Little, Brown, $6.00). "George III," observes the discerning author of this valuable account, "could not quite accept in his heart the fact that in England the royal will like that of all other persons was subject to the law." The son of a (royal) German immigrant, George III never quite understood such an English gentleman as George Washington of Virginia, or the other freeborn Englishmen of the Colonies in America. In consequence he lost those Colonies, where his reign had come to be viewed as "a history of repeated injuries and usurpations." In England it appeared more feasible than in America to contain tyranny without formal dissociation from the tyrant. "George III made a contribution to history," writes Mr. Long "by showing that the stubborn assertion of royal power was forever out of date and his would-be autocratic rule never has been reattempted in the British realm." *Mutatis mutandis*, the reaction of Englishmen to the innovations of George III was the same on both sides of the Atlantic. It is probably too much to hope that the intellectuals who advise President Kennedy will ever call to his attention the fact that our Colonial forefathers were in a position analogous to that of the Dutch, not the natives, in the Indies; and to that in Algeria, not of the FLN rebels, but of the French *colons*. M. EVANS

This Bread Is Mine, by Robert LeFevre (American Liberty Press, Milwaukee, $5.00). Robert LeFevre, one of America's most energetic libertarians, is an editorial writer and head of the Freedom School. In the inspirational, quasi-poetic tradition of Rose Wilder Lane and Henry Grady Weaver, LeFevre here sets forth his political credo, celebrating individual liberty and decrying the State. No purer libertarian exists than Bob LeFevre; but one may question his view that individual self-improvement and abstention from all political action will suffice to defeat the socialist menace. It is precisely to make possible LeFevre's libertarian goal of individual non-involvement with the State, that more active and positive measures to combat state intervention are necessary. M. N. ROTHBARD

Self-Developing America, by Harold J. Ruttenberg, (Harper, $4.50). Mr. Ruttenberg says we can establish the Kingdom of God on earth by mobilizing America to develop the rest of the world. He claims we should not fear the abuse of power by men in Government: we should establish a World Development Board and, if necessary, a World Labor Board and a World Office of Price Administration. These recommendations are based on his experiences as the former research director of the United Steelworkers and as a more recent manufacturer of well-drilling equipment for export to backward countries, and finally on his studies of Abraham Lincoln Stephen Raushenbush and William James, whom he quotes profusely. Lacking adequate understanding either of religion, or of philosophy, or of science, he nonetheless tries to synthesize the three and uses the resultant hodgepodge to label as romanticist individualism the Constitution and America's history prior to the Civil War, to identify America's policy of not recognizing Red China as a vestige of McCarthyism, and to reaffirm his admiration for Adlai Stevenson. A. SHARRON

"A new and important book which explains the philosophy which endangers the world."
—Sen. Barry Goldwater

THE MOULDING OF COMMUNISTS
The Training of the Communist Cadre
by Frank S. Meyer
$5.00 — HARCOURT, BRACE & WORLD, INC.

ANY BOOK reviewed in this Book Section—or **any other current book**—is yours for **no more** than the bookstore price. We pay **all** postage and handling charges. Worldwide service, catalogue on request.

THE BOOKMAILER, INC.
Box 101—Murray Hill Station
New York 16, New York

The Complete
Bookstore-by-Mail
representing all U.S. publishers

THE ANTHILL
The Human Condition in Communist China
SUZANNE LABIN

"There is a big vein of gold running through THE ANTHILL." —*Saturday Review*

Eyewitness accounts of refugees—each bearing a story of human suffering—vividly expose life in new China. **$6.75**

Please send me ...... copy (ies) of THE ANTHILL. @ $6.75 each

☐ My check is enclosed

Name ....
Address ....
City .... State ....

FREDERICK A. PRAEGER,
Publisher, 64 University Place,
New York 3, N.Y.

VIEWPOINT

APPEASEMENT... BY ANY OTHER NAME STILL SMELLS OF DISASTER

A statement in the public interest by N. J. Gould, president of Goulds Pumps, Inc., Seneca Falls, New York

Call it flexibility. Call it realism. Call it coexistence. Appeasement, born of fear and nurtured in dishonor, leads any nation that embraces it, at last, to war.

History, from the Peloponnesus to Munich, clearly proves this. Yet, dangerously and periodically, we flirt with this policy.

Consider Cuba. Our policy of "patience and forbearance" there did nothing to curtail Castro's insults, attacks or larcenies and much to encourage them. The result is that we now have a Communist beachhead ninety miles south of Key West.

We can and must realize what we are up against—ruthless and determined men who pocket any concessions of ours to implement their plan for world domination.

We can no longer stop at just resisting Communism. Certainly, we must no longer appease it. The only course that offers *any* hope of peace with freedom is this – we must recognize the greatness of our power and boldly take the initiative in winning the Cold War.

True, we thereby risk a hot war. But appeasement makes the risk a certainty—and at a point in time when we shall be least able to achieve a victory.

A Commercial Message. As modern industry adopts new technologies, it needs more modern pumps. Often these pumps must withstand greater pressures, higher temperatures and increasingly corrosive environments.

At Goulds Pumps, 93% of the pumps shipped last year were of post-1950 design. May we help you with your pumping problems?

Goulds Pumps, Inc., Department **NR-31**
Seneca Falls, N.Y.

GOULDS GP PUMPS

To the Editor

Goldwater and His Critics

Congratulations to Willmoore Kendall for his fine critique ["Quo Vadis, Barry?" February 25] of Senator Goldwater's *Statement.* One of the great problems of conservatives in recent years has been their strong tendency to hero-worship, and I am glad to see Mr. Kendall reject the temptation to praise Goldwater regardless. I can't see anyone mounting the barricades to fight for the slogan: "No *further* welfare measures unless they're *really needed.*"

New York City MURRAY N. ROTHBARD

Goldwater has not suggested that the conservatives adjust their beliefs to those of the Republican Party in general. Even during the election campaign he wanted us to *vote* for Nixon (because through Nixon there was more hope of adopting conservative measures in government than there could be through the opposing party), but there was no word of adjusting our *beliefs* toward Nixon's—in fact he kept prodding Nixon farther to the Right. . . .

And remember, before rebuking him further: Goldwater is the only politician of national stature who has worked so earnestly and tirelessly for the victory of conservatism. He has even succeeded in making people proud to say they are conservatives, after so many years of being ashamed to admit it.

"Quo Vadis, Barry?" you asked. Well, anyone can see that Barry is going steadfastly to the Right. But it takes a little time to pull the entire bulky, and occasionally balky, GOP along with him.

Wichita, Kan. JESSIE BRICE

"Quo Vadis, Barry?" simply reminds us that Goldwater uses the classic props of the professional politician: a) a *philosophy* which is, in Goldwater's case, "a tested truth that guarded our Republic through its early days"; b) a *"statement"* or manifesto in direct conflict with the *philosophy,* and allegedly produced by "the art of the possible"; c) a *"forgotten man"* who, upon analysis, turns out to be the overwhelming majority of us.

Thus, Marxian politicians offer a basic philosophy of anarchism, the quintessence of individual freedom. Their manifesto, however, proposes to first establish an absolute dictatorship; then to let it "wither away." "The art of the possible," unfortunately, never gets beyond the dictatorship. Their "forgotten man," the proletarian, is encouraged to cherish the illusion that he is, in fact, the dictator. . . .

Los Angeles, Cal. WILLIAM F. MAHER

Is Mr. Kendall—Goldwater's critic—able to take a long flight of stairs all in one step? Can he wean a baby in half an hour? Can he dismantle a huge, welded, reinforced piece of machinery with a simple turn of a screwdriver?

Or, would he have more success using Goldwater's more realistic method? There is more than one way to skin a cat . . . or donkey, for that matter.

Hollywood, Cal. FRANK MCCLERNAN

Discriminate Discrimination

W. H. von Dreele ["It Happens in New York" February 25] fails to make his point. No doubt there is some reluctance on the part of the Park West parents to racially integrate their children with those of the low income development, but the main objection seems to be class distinction and the "progressive" methods of the public school system in New York City—not racial distinction. . . .

The middle class in New York City is, for the most part, class conscious and not race conscious. . . .

The lower class whites in New York City, lacking any superior class distinction with the Negroes and Puerto Ricans, turn to race distinction.

Brooklyn, N.Y. ROBERT S. TOWNSEND

There is an element of truth in W. H. von Dreele's jazzy but carelessly written article on big city school segregation. We agree that more attention needs to be given to this problem, but such an aim is not fostered by the sort of shoddy reporting he has undertaken. Mr. von Dreele was too busy making the "facts" fit a conclusion he had already reached to stop and ask significant questions.

Mr. von Dreele erroneously reported that Public School 163 "joins" Park West Village and Frederick Douglas Houses. It is located in one corner of a site mentioned. Quoting the *New York Times* and Dr. Theobald, Mr. von Dreele suggests that "Park West Village is almost entirely white." This is not true, and would have been discerned by a more objective reporter.

In the three buildings thus far completed at Park West, only one apartment in every nine has more than one bedroom. Three in every nine are studio or efficiency apartments. Only a small percentage of Park West tenants could have school age children. In contrast, the apartments in the Frederick Douglas project are more spacious and more conducive to housing families with children.

New York City L. H. MARTIN

Mr. von Dreele Replies

To Mr. Townsend: I'm afraid that trying to say Park West parents refused to integrate in P.S. 163 because of class, not race or color, is largely unprovable. No one *I* interviewed would say. My own opinion—and that of my informant at P.S. 163—is that considerable hypocrisy existed in their replies. (See: New Rochelle.)

To Mr. Martin: Webster defines "join" as "to be adjacent to." As a tenant of Park West, Mr. Martin would certainly agree that his development is "adjacent" to P.S. 163. Standing on the nearest balcony, it would not require the strength of a Goliath to lob a rock through a P.S. 163 window.

As for Park West's degree of whiteness, it is not for the likes of me to question the *Times*. Surely *they* are not shoddy in their reporting. And they do report (in the June 18, 1960 issue) that "Park West Village is almost entirely white," a state of affairs confirmed to my satisfaction during an on-site tour this winter.

And the children. Admitting that there are more of them in the low-income project, are there only *ten* children in all of Park West's 2,000-plus apartments? God help us if New Yorkers decline to raise children in one bedroom or efficiency apartments. Barring an Organization Man's salary, it's all Manhattan can offer.

New York City W. H. VON DREELE

For Growth of Your
Investment Income and Capital
Norvin R. Greene, Author of The Investor Page
of the National Review Bulletin
Offers You Counsel

Lancaster & Norvin Greene
Investment Counsellors
30 Broad Street New York 4, N.Y.

Electoral Reform

Article II, section 1 of the Constitution provides that: "Each state shall appoint [its electors] in such Manner as the legislature thereof may direct. . . ." Under this provision, the proposed Electoral College reform, either by proportional representation or by district election, may be made by the respective state legislature if they so choose.

Senator Goldwater's statement as to the necessity or desirability of a constitutional amendment for such reform ["Senator Goldwater Speaks His Mind," January 14] is therefore open to question. With states' rights rapidly being eroded under centralization, should conservatives give aid and comfort to the trend by supporting a move to deprive the states of one of their constitutional prerogatives?

Rosedale, N. Y. WILLIAM S. HAMMA

Six Crucial Words

Thank you for Vincent F. DeCain's clear and comprehensive article on the Connally Amendment [March 11]. It enabled me for the first time to understand the vital importance of keeping those six crucial words—"as determined by the United States." Otherwise an unfriendly foreign power might well assert jurisdiction over domestic affairs in the U.S. through the International Court of Justice of the United Nations.

Boston, Mass. MARY NEFF

Footnote on the Census

On my census forms, I refused to answer all questions, except those as to sex, name and address. I mailed the questionnaire in to the district office, explaining that the other questions constituted a violation of my Constitutional right of privacy. . . .

After thinking the matter over, it suddenly came to me that it was strange that the Communists had not

Don't miss your boat!

. . . or your plane. Don't arrive to find your favorite hotel full. Travel the easy, modern way—have everything waiting for you—let Margaret Cone make all your reservations now. Whether you are on business or vacation, you should enjoy yourself. And you *will* if you contact

MARGARET CONE TRAVEL SERVICE
Dept. R-1, 520 Fifth Ave.
New York 36, N.Y.
Tel. OXford 7-0796

Advertisement

Attend this

CONVENTION
OF CONSERVATIVES
Sponsored by
THE INDEPENDENT
AMERICAN

Speakers

- ★ Hon. Edgar Hiestand
- ★ Hon. August E. Johansen
- ★ Hon. J. Bracken Lee
- ★ Tom Anderson
- ★ Willis E. Stone

and many others
April 13-14-15, 1961
MORRISON HOTEL **CHICAGO ILLINOIS**

THE INDEPENDENT AMERICAN
NEWSPAPER
P.O. Box 4223
New Orleans- 18, Louisiana

☐ Please send me a copy of the complete INDEPENDENT AMERICAN FORUM program

☐ Please send me a sample copy of the INDEPENDENT AMERICAN newspaper

Name ....

Address ....

City & State ....

CLASSIFIED

NATIONAL REVIEW ACCEPTS *classified advertisements for personal services, items wanted or for sale, jobs sought or available, houses or apartments for sale or rent, and miscellaneous subjects of a comparable nature.* NATIONAL REVIEW *reserves the right to reject any copy deemed unsuitable. Rates per insertion: 40¢ per word, minimum 10 words. If a box number is desired, count two extra words. Text, accompanied by full payment in the form of cash, check or money order, must be received 17 days before publication date. All responses to box numbers will be forwarded and postage billed periodically. Mail to be called for at* NATIONAL REVIEW *will be held 60 days only. Address: Classified Dept.,* NATIONAL REVIEW, *150 East 35th Street, New York 16, N. Y.*

LITERARY

LOCATE any book. Best prices. Aardvarks, Box 668-N, San Diego 12, California.

BOOKS: Catalogue of Paper Backs in print $2.00. Box 26, National Review.

BOOKS LOCATED—Any subject. Put our vigorous search service to work! You'll like our prices and fast, no-obligation service. BOOKMARK, Box 68Y, Mt. Clemens, Michigan

PATRON WANTED. Two college graduates seek sponsorship to write book, *Tracts on Conservatism.* Write Box 23, National Review.

Catalog of general out of print books sent free upon request. Martin F. Duffy & Sons, 229 Coeyman Avenue, Nutley, N.J.

TRAVEL

Guided Tour **INSIDE JAPAN—2 or 4 week adventure. Ask Mr. Foster, Buhl Building, Detroit 26, Michigan.**

CHARMING GRAMERCY PARK—Attractive single and double. Newly decorated. PARKSIDE HOTEL, 18 Gramercy Park South, New York City. Transients $4.50 and up. Moderate weekly-monthly rates. GRamercy 5-6000.

REAL ESTATE

SWISS CHALET TYPE LODGE surrounded by pine woods, on 28 acres. Large redwood panelled living-dining room. Three large bedrooms, 2½ baths, fireplaces. Fully equipped kitchen, hot water heat. Wonderful summer home and perfect for winter weekends, near Mohawk Skiing. Many unusual features make this a must to see. $40,000. Write M. L. Burnham, Kent, Conn. WAlker 7-3117 or Box MB, National Review.

SUMMER RENTAL! 3 bedroom furnished modern cottage, beautifully located in woods, overlooking brook. 88 miles from New York City. $600 for season. Write M. L. Burnham, Kent, Conn. WAlker 7-3117 or Box MB, National Review.

JOBS & JOB HUNTERS

NATIONAL REVIEW NEEDS young girl in Circulation Dept. Must type 40 words/min. Ref. & Exp. Box 37, NR.

EDUCATED MAN FRIDAY sought. Career opportunity, communications, teaching. Single. Southwest. Write Box 32, National Review.

WISCONSIN MANUFACTURER offers a challenging opportunity in personnel and industrial relations to a recent college graduate. Applicant must be well versed in basic economics, willing to assume responsibilities, have leadership potential, and have a conservative philosophy. Submit detailed resumé and salary requirements. Write Box 31, National Review.

COLLEGE MAN, Mature. Capable secretarial work, running household, cooking, etc. For further information write Box 50, National Review, or phone MU 5-6383, evenings.

LARGE NEW YORK PUBLISHING FIRM has openings for writers and editors. Send resumé and salary range to Box DF, National Review.

YOUNG MAN with speaking ability and auto. Travel, promote patriotism for fast-growing conservative group. Expenses plus. Write Box 30, National Review.

CONSERVATIVE, RESPONSIBLE college senior seeks overseas position after graduation. Please write Box 15, National Review.

MISCELLANEOUS

GOLD COINS for safe, profitable investment. I import U. S. coins from Switzerland, sell in large or small quantities. Write: Parker, 4606 Austin, Houston, Texas.

CONSERVATIVES! Help block leftist measures, and support sound ones, by sending skillfully-aimed and carefully-timed letters to key Congressmen, newspapers, etc. Join Public Action, Inc.—the fast-growing legislative service that keeps an eye on bills before the Congress and alerts conservatives when it's time to act. Just $2 a year will show you how to Get Results from your government. Send check or money order to Dept. N, Public Action, 131 East 69th St., New York 21, New York.

AVAILABLE FOR LIMITED SPEAKING ENGAGEMENTS during 1961 season: Wm. F. Buckley Jr., James Burnham, Frank S. Meyer, Wm. A. Rusher. Write to M. Catherine Babcock, Inc., 110 Thomas Lane, Virginia Beach, Virginia, for details.

25 DIFFERENT LARGE American Commemoratives. 10¢ with approvals. Linstamp, St. Catharines 114, Ontario.

CHARCOAL PORTRAITS. Head and shoulders, near life-size. Send photograph, wallet size or larger. Satisfaction guaranteed. $10.00 postpaid. Nancy Anderson, 1401 Bluff, Peru, Illinois.

COVERED WAGON MOVERS. **Insured professional household moving. Packing, crating, storage. 24-hour service. For estimate call Jerry McGruddy, ALgonquin 5-1788, N.Y.C.**

DO YOU INVEST? **For prompt, courteous service and convenient midtown stock brokerage facilities, phone Leon Weil, Co-manager, Steiner Rouse & Company, MU 2-0300, Lexington and 41st St., New York City. Members New York Stock Exchange.**

ALERTING PARENTS: Documentary regarding school courses favoring world government, collectivism. 25¢. Box 872, Evanston, Illinois.

FREEDOM SCHOOL now accepting applications for enrollment in 1961 summer courses. Comprehensive philosophy of freedom taught in two-week seminars. Special courses Economics for Executives. Workshop for graduates and teachers. Scholarships and partial scholarships available. Write Box 165, Colorado Springs, Colo., for free descriptive folder and all application forms.

307 WORLDWIDE DIFFERENT STAMPS only 25¢. Approvals. Niagara Stamps, St. Catharines 214, Ontario.

WHY DO WE FAIL? **Perhaps we fail to sell conservative ideas because we don't employ the unusual techniques needed to reach the voter. If so, why not consult a communications specialist? Phone CI 5-2371, NYC, or write Box 58, National Review.**

protested against answering all these questions, since they have been making a *cause célèbre* of any violation of the right of privacy. . . . I called the *People's World* and asked for "Slim" (Phil) Connelly, then editor, who is a top-echelon Communist here in California. . . . We had about a half-hour's talk about the big census questionnaire, a good deal of which I took down in shorthand.

I opened the conversation by using a number of their favorite clichés, and Mr. Connelly evidently accepted me as one of their crowd. I told him that I objected to the housing questionnaire and did not want to answer it. He told me to go ahead and answer it; that the Communist Party had been trying to get such questions into the census for many years. In answer to another question, he told me that the questions of race and ethnic origin were valuable, as "this information gives us the location and population density of minority groups."

I then took up the matter of questions regarding pensions, social security payments, welfare, etc. He answered that the government already has this information, so that I would be running no risk in giving it out to the census. However, he added, heretofore such information was not available to the general public—"But now the census will make it public in tabulated form; this will be invaluable for member recruitment, and for propaganda."

The reason why the big questionnaire was left with the individual, instead of the census-taker asking the questions and filling it out as he did the small form, was given to me by the census-taker who came to my house: "If we asked those questions in person, it would be considered an invasion of privacy. But if we leave the questionnaire at the house, and the person voluntarily answers the questions and mails the questionnaire to the office, he has waived the right to charge an invasion of privacy."

Los Angeles, Cal. LUCINDA E. BENGE

Don't interrupt . . .

. . . your NATIONAL REVIEW service. When you move, please give us at **least** three weeks' notice—and include the zone number in your new address. Notify:

Circulation Dept., National Review
150 E. 35th St., New York 16, N.Y.

Wrong Bar

No one at the bar in this town calls Judge J. Cullen Ganey "James C. Ganey" ["Keep Looking, Diogenes," February 25], even if that is his name, and we have no "Morris" County in Pennsylvania—it is Montgomery County.

Please, no more "goofs," even in such details.

Charity Outdated

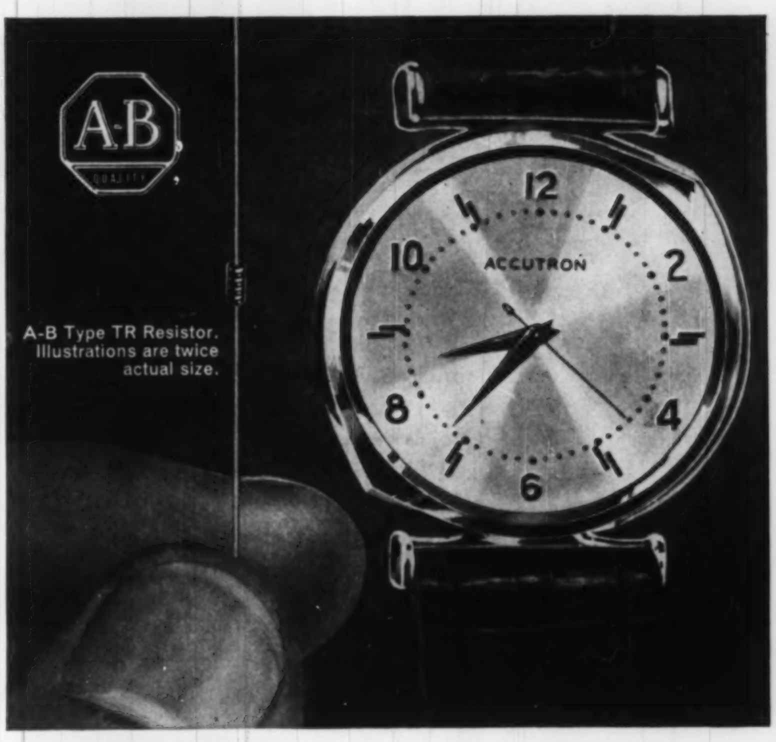
Forrest Davis' ["Pap for Senior Citizens," January 28] sense of the times is quite different from my own. Mr. Davis finds that the proposal for providing health insurance benefits for the aged is outmoded and is a solution suitable to the times of a half century ago. But Mr. Davis wishes to retain some older methods. He supports charity as the way to meet today's problems because "'charity medicine' is as old as medicine."

Let's look at Mr. Davis' idea that health care costs of aged are a problem of the past. The fact is that modern health care as it exists today was practically nonexistent 50 years ago. Furthermore, the combination of the rising costs of medical care and the increasing proportion of the aged in the population in the last 50 years is what has made the health costs of the aged one of the country's most serious problems.

Now for Mr. Davis' belief that charity is the preferred way to meet the problem. I believe that these times and the times of the future call for preventing dependency rather than dealing with it on a means test basis after it occurs. The only practical way to prevent the medical indigency in old age is under a plan by which individuals and their employers provide basic insurance protection against the costs of the medical care that they will need in retirement by contributing small amounts from their earnings while they are working. By this method, freedom of choice will not be impaired but enhanced. The aged will be free to select the health services they need without the barriers and humiliations which are involved when they must turn to charity for help.

WILBUR J. COHEN
Assistant Secretary
Department of Health, Education and Welfare

Washington, D.C.



A-B Type TR Resistor. Illustrations are twice actual size.

Accutron*...

new Bulova electronic timepiece uses

ALLEN-BRADLEY Type TR

miniature Composition Resistors

With its miniature tuning fork and electronic circuit, Accutron introduces an entirely new principle to timekeeping—one which assures unprecedented wrist timepiece accuracy. Strapped to your wrist, it is guaranteed not to gain or lose more than one minute a month.

Allen-Bradley Type TR tiny resistors enabled Accutron designers to achieve the required circuit miniaturization for a wrist timepiece—without sacrificing reliability. This circuit controls the 360 pulses of power each second—31 million per day—that drive the tuning fork. Although incredibly small, these Type TR miniature composition resistors are made by Allen-Bradley's exclusive hot molding process that guarantees complete freedom from catastrophic failures! A-B Type TR resistors are conservatively rated 1/10 watt at 70°C.

Other Allen-Bradley space-saving electronic components that can help solve your miniaturization problems are potentiometers, capacitors, and h-f filters. You obtain the same reliability for which the larger Allen-Bradley components have earned a worldwide reputation. For details, send for Publication 6024.

**Trademark Bulova Watch Co., Inc.*

ALLEN-BRADLEY

Quality Electronic Components

Allen-Bradley Co., 1206 S. Third St., Milwaukee 4, Wis. • In Canada: Allen-Bradley Canada Ltd., Galt, Ont.

Reader Compares National Review To Whiskey; Scores Soda Pop and Strained Vegetable Journalism. National Review, a Magazine of Opinions, Is Not Broadminded.

A man usually understood to be a liberal, a friend of ours well-placed in the complicated hierarchy of New York's Democratic Party, Mr. R. W., writes a note we thought we ought to pass on:

". . . Of course I am not in agreement with most of your criticism of President Kennedy; nor do I believe you will get far in your obvious editorial support of Senator Barry Goldwater, but renew my subscription, for I can no longer get along without National Review.

"I find that National Review is a whiskey I must sample once a week. From every other journal I get a sensation of either soda pop (and who does not finally gag on effervescent, treacly sugar water), or from the intellectual journals of my own persuasion I now get no more than strained vegetable juices unfermented. So I am now a tippler. Eight dollars enclosed."

Because National Review is not broadminded it must appear to some to be strong whiskey; it is a magazine of fact and opinion, of discourse and criticism, on the central questions of our age. On these questions to be broadminded is to prefer a steady diet of soda pop.

How can we meet the Communist challenge? How can we resuscitate the spirit in an age of horror? How can we guard our minds against uniformity in a mass age? How can collectivism be resisted? How can power be distributed to assure tranquility but preserve freedom? How can we teach love of country, respect for the wisdom of our ancestors, responsibility to our posterity?

Because its writers are some of the most accomplished essayists, commentators and critics of our time, National Review is often 'way ahead. Criticism on arts and manners, thoughtful book reviews, economic argument, educational theory, analyses of our foreign policy, commentary on our politics—this is the work of National Review's writers.

Writers — perceptive, educated, wise, lively writers: they are the great attraction of National Review: among others, William F. Buckley Jr., James Burnham, Brent Bozell, Russell Kirk, Frank S. Meyer, John Chamberlain. Because the writers are unique and distinctive, reading National Review is rewarding.

Perhaps you have a friend who would enjoy a touch of editorial whiskey, who likes to read writers who are not broadminded, who likes to be made to think on the central questions of our age. Why not give him a subscription? We have an introductory price ($3.89 for 15 issues—more than six months) for just such a purpose.

Or, perhaps you are the one who needs the introduction? Won't you use this convenient coupon?

Mail to National Review, 150 East 35th Street, New York 16, N.Y.

☐ One Year @ $8.00
☐ 15 issues @ $3.89
☐ I'll pay now
☐ Bill Me

Send To ______________________________
(please print)

Address ______________________________

City ________________ Zone _____ State ________

IF A GIFT, PLEASE ADD THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION:

Donor's Name ______________________________

Address ______________________________